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Parental Deportation and Cape Verdean Youth Experiences: A Case Study

Leila Rosa

University of South Florida, leilarosa@bpsma.org

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Parental Deportation and Cape Verdean Youth Experiences: A Case Study

by

Leila Rosa

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Curriculum and Instruction, with an emphasis in Special Education

College of Education
University of South Florida

Major Professor: Ann Cranston-Gingras, Ph.D.
William Black, Ph.D.
Deirdre Cobb-Roberts, Ph.D.
Karen Colucci, Ph.D.
Donaldo Macedo, Ph.D.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my parents, brothers, my four children and Joe. I deeply feel the sense of disconnection my mother and father felt when they were forced to choose between my chance at educational opportunity and their professional and social stability. I understand their sacrifices and I am always in awe at their ability to give and guide. To my brothers, who continually inspire me with their work in the community and as scholars. To my children, thank you for being who you are. The four of you keep me sane and give me hope in the future. And to Joe, because things are much easier with you as a partner.
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To the participants in this study, thank you. You spoke candidly about what is difficult. You chose to participate when nothing was offered in return. I hope I gave you voice and did justice to your pain.
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Abstract

The consistent academic underperformance of students from diverse backgrounds is a national concern and the subject of study by numerous researchers. Some scholars suggest this underperformance indicates teacher lack of preparation to address the needs of a highly diverse student population (Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Ford, 2008; Darling-Hamond, 2004). Central to the overall efforts for improving achievement outcomes should be a focus on the educational experiences of the segment of population that is underperforming, namely students of color, from diverse cultural and linguistic background. Policies of immigration are particularly relevant for the students who are immigrants to the United States or are the first generation born in the United States, given that these policies directly impact their social security and stability, potentially altering their educational experiences. This exploratory study employed a multiple case study methodology (Stake, 2006) framed within critical theory (Carspeken, 1996) focused on how students experience and negotiate their parent being ordered deported and in what ways their schooling experiences are impacted by the threat of parental deportation in one of the largest Cape Verdean immigrant communities in Southeast New England, the community of Brockton, Massachusetts.

Participants for this study were purposefully selected through the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde. Three youth participants, their parents and 3 community leaders were interviewed using Seidman’s (2006) three series interview format, and using Madison’s (2005) six types of question variations. Data was collected in the form of participant interviews,
document analysis, participant and community observations, and field notes. Data analysis was done using Madison’s (2005) five level of analysis.

The findings of this study highlight the impact of immigration policies on youth and the importance of school districts that serve large immigrant populations developing structures responsive to the issues of immigration, addressing teacher ideologies in professional development and teacher preparation programs.
Chapter One

Introduction

I am a district wide special needs evaluator of limited English proficient and bilingual students, who are eligible or in the process of being evaluated for special education services, in the highly diverse school district of Brockton, Massachusetts. My assignment includes all elementary schools in Brockton because the population of students who are English Language Learners (ELLs) or bilingual is distributed among all schools in Brockton. I am also a volunteer for the social division of the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde in Boston. Before becoming a volunteer for the Consulate in 2012, I worked for the Consulate as the coordinator of the social division. My primary responsibility was to contact the families whose members were in the process of deportation and to negotiate with American authorities the deportation proceedings and outcomes for individuals with deportation orders. In addition, I maintained regular contact with the Cape Verdean foreign ministry office in an attempt to assist with the social integration of returning (deported) immigrants. Many of the families that I spoke with through the Consulate are residents of Brockton and have children enrolled in Brockton Public schools. Often I found myself in the role of emotional supporter, listener, informant, and the bearer of bad news. I received numerous letters from children whose parents were detained for deportation. Some letters came with innocent, incomprehensible drawings visibly filled with pain and hope. I often wondered about the day-to-day activities of these children and the impact of the instability in their homes. I reminded many deportation supervisors and deportation agents of the rights of the children, who more often than not are American born. During my time as the
coordinator of the Social Division for the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde, despite meeting and talking to many Homeland Security agents, only one Immigration Customs Enforcement agent dared to demonstrate a degree of sorrow for the situation of deported and their families. He quickly reminded me that there was nothing he could do.

I recall that even the Consulate’s request to allow the delivery of a forty-pound suitcase for those departing under a deportation order was met with negative responses. The families often communicated desperation about their family members being deported with just the set of clothes they wear during the trip. In a community open forum with the director for homeland security for New England, I spoke to the audience on behalf of the Cape Verdean-American born children with parents detained for deportation. I reminded the audience that many of those detained for deportation have children born in the United States. When the parents are deported these children remain in the country and may be potentially vulnerable to a multitude of social and emotional difficulties. I continued by pointing out that consistently, research findings suggest that the emotional health and social stability of a child is dependent on both parents being accessible. Mentally and emotionally leaning on the fact that I am an American citizen and they cannot touch me, I pressed on by offering that children that live in single parent homes rely on one income and as a result are more likely to be poor. I suggested that despite being American born, these children might be conflicted about their national identity because they are citizens of the country that expelled their parents. Feeling courageous with little to lose, I, aloud questioned the logic of actions directed at protecting America from terrorism, as previously suggested by the director as the agency’s objective, while leaving American children without a parent. The Director quickly brushed my questions and comments regarding these children’s rights by pointing out that the children were free to depart with the parent.
As a special needs teacher, when I walk the corridors of the schools early in the morning, I hear the students pledging allegiance. Drawing from my own experiences as an immigrant, English language learner, student and teacher, I wonder how many of them feel confused by the act. Despite many of them having been born in the United States, I wonder how many feel like true Americans, particularly those that lost a parent or family member to deportation. Do students experience guilt because they are an American citizen while a family member did not benefit from the same status? These are the things I wonder as I watch them stand up straight with their right hands on their chest. Some of these students are not American citizens. I am drawn to the innocence of the act soon to be jolted by the thought of how many will end up in deportation rows or with deported parents.

I am often called to assess Cape Verdean students for special education. Aware of the meaning of these assessments, and knowledgeable of the complexities of the immigrant experience, I try my best to uncover all background issues that may potentially impede the academic progress expected by teachers. From the lenses of my own immigrant experiences, I try to inch myself to the realities of these children. It is not too difficult for me to understand how such transition, and being between spaces, may transform and affect living outcomes. It is not challenging to understand how immigration, the move to an environment with a different language and sociocultural expectations generates a constant emotional struggle that challenges the sense of belonging and betrayal. I recall that upon my arrival in the United States at the age of 17, one of my greatest fears was not being accepted in the United States and losing connection with the place I came from. It is, however, a major challenge to explain to my colleagues, who have not experienced such an event, the possible implications of immigration. I often hear “but they can’t read, they can’t speak English” and I respond “yes, but in this case, engaging with
another language may also signify having to let go of the language that is comfortable and belongs to their parents and therefore is theirs, see this may not be a disability.” Sometimes in exasperation I explain to other teachers “they left things behind in Cape Verde. If they make a linguistic transition to English without some negotiation they may feel that they must reject what they left behind and their identities may be compromised.” On occasion, I have entered into discussions with colleagues, attempting to explain that immigration may be traumatic. At times they struggle and say “but this country is better for them.” Secretly I think, “Yes, maybe so. Do they know that and how have you helped them feel welcomed?”

**Statement of the problem**

The consistent academic underperformance of students from diverse backgrounds is a national concern and the subject of study by numerous researchers. Some scholars suggest this underperformance indicates teacher lack of preparation to address the needs of a highly diverse student population (Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Ford, 2008; Darling-Hamond, 2004). Other scholars rely on the deficit perspective and argue that these students’ cultural and individual characteristics prevent them from being successful (Robinson & Biran, 2006; Kenny, Blustein, Chaves, Grossman & Gallagher, 2003). For some scholars, sociocultural factors play a leading role in the academic performance of students of diverse backgrounds. For example, Pomeroy and Browing (2010) suggest that American youth are in crisis given the amount of exposure to a range of traumatic events namely economic hardships, homelessness, sexual exploitation, loss of a family member to illness, injury and incarceration. The concern for the academic underperformance of students of color, ethnically and linguistic diverse becomes even more pronounced when juxtaposed with the disproportional rates of identification and placement of these students in special education (Donovan & Cross, 2002; Oswald, Coutinho, Best, Singh
1999; Dunn, 1968). Some argue that the disproportional rates of identification of students of color, ethnically and linguistically diverse, is due to a higher likelihood of these students being exposed to health, nutritional, environmental, social and economic factors that may result in disabling conditions (Hosp & Reschly, 2004). The consensus is that trauma potentially leads to mental health difficulties resulting in diminished coping and performance abilities in social settings (Perry & Hamrick, 2008; Perry, Pollard, Blakley, Baker & Vigilante, 1995).

**Federal Policies and Schooling Experiences**

Scholars who rely on a critical perspective, associate the impact of public policies with current achievement and experiential differences between different segments of the student population. In addressing the lower academic outcomes of inner city students, Anyon (2005) argues that federal policies “regulating minimum wage, job availability, tax rates, federal transportation, and affordable housing create conditions in cities that no existing educational policy or urban school reform can transcend” (p. 2). Kozol (2012) provides compelling evidence of the connection of federal actions to differences in student experiences found in urban schools. Darder (2011) argues that while schools continue to view the primary causes of inequality as intellectual or psychological deficiencies “they ignore the structural conditions of social injustice and economic inequality at work in the process of schooling” (p.136). There is a body of research that provides insight into specific social conditions that may be implicated in student experiences and potentially student performance. However only a limited number of such research focuses on the policies inherent to the process of immigration, that create social conditions that may directly affect particular segments of the student population. Darder (2011) suggests that in the United States there are challenges to the development of bicultural identity and voice and that there is a racialization to the immigrant debate.
There is no doubt that central to the overall efforts for improving achievement outcomes should be a focus on the educational experiences of the segment of population that is underperforming, namely students of color, from diverse cultural and linguistic background. Policies of immigration are particularly relevant for the students who are immigrants to United States or are the first generation born in the United States, given that these policies directly impact their social security and stability, potentially altering their educational experiences. The diversity found in the American student population and the predictions of continued increases in the English Language Learners’ student population demand that scholars pay attention to policies of immigration in particular deportation and removal policies.

**Immigration Policies, Trauma and State of Vulnerability**

Scholars report that family trauma impacts health, education, income level, and social development of children (Porche, Fortuna, Lin & Alegria, 2011; Ratner, Chiodo, Covington, Sokol, Ager & Delaney-Black, 2006.) Public policies that may result in family trauma include deportation and removal policies. These policies are particularly relevant for immigrant and first generation students who live in mixed status homes. A mixed status home refers to homes where one or both parents are Legal Permanent Resident Aliens (LPRs) of the United States and the children are American citizens by birth. People with LPR status applied and obtained permanent resident visas often prior to leaving their country of origin. A legal permanent visa gives the holder the right to live and work in the United States. Upon arrival, those holding legal permanent residence, receive an identification card, called the green card, which authorizes them to reside in the United States. However, green card holders do not benefit from same privileges as American citizens. They are not able to hold employment in the public sector or stand for public office. LPRs may not apply for employment in State or Federal agencies. LPRs cannot
work jobs that involve national security and they may not purchase certain classes of real estate. In addition, people that hold a legal permanent visa may not vote. Despite this, males that are lawful permanent residents between the ages of 18 to 26 are required to register for military service and failure to comply may result in denial of citizenship. A LPR visa does not guarantee citizenship or permanent residency in the United States. On the contrary, those with LPR’s status must renew their green card every 10 years. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) holds discretion over renewal and if renewal is denied, an order of deportation may be issued. This creates a situation that can best be described as legally vulnerable.

Changes in immigration laws have resulted in significant increases in the deportation of LPRs. LPRs are those who immigrate to the United States with resident visas and characteristically maintain limited connections with the country of origin, form families and establish strong ties to the United States. However, in cases of the deportation of a family member, family ties are abruptly severed. The deportation of LPRs results in forced family separation, which is traumatic for youth (Baum, Jones & Barry, 2010). It is estimated that the great majority of children of deported persons remain in the United States in single parent households or are placed with extended families (Fortuny, Hernandez & Chaudry, 2010). The Urban Institute reports that 99% of young children of immigrants are U.S. citizens by birth and 43% of these children live with parents that are non-citizens (Fortuny, Hernandez & Chaudry, 2010), and or Permanent Resident Aliens (LPRs) of United States. Children who live in mixed status homes are at an increased risk of trauma through forced family separation due to deportation. These children live in homes that the parents have lower levels of education and income (Human Rights Watch Organization, 2009). Fortuny, Hernandez and Chaudry (2010) found that young children of immigrants are disproportionately poor or low income and
consistently demonstrate lower educational achievement rates. This profile is representative of Cape Verdean American youth, the population to which this study referred.

**Cape Verdean American Youth of Brockton, Massachusetts**

Cape Verdean American youth exhibit different stages/spaces of immigrant reality and English language acquisition. They most often live in communities that are “Krioulo dominant.” These are communities that have large population of Cape Verdeans with significant amount of businesses and organizations that serve and are led by Cape Verdeans. One example of such a community is the community of Brockton, Massachusetts in Southeast New England. As a group, Cape Verdeans are most likely to live in homes with mixed immigration status and therefore become more vulnerable to policies that relate to immigration such as deportation and removal policies. Cape Verdean American youth can be described as ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse and English Language learners. The terms ethnically, culturally, linguistically diverse, and English language learners refer to youth with specific characteristics. They are of color and clearly distinguishable from their white counterparts. Their cultural roots are established in an African country with a European colonial history, and as such have a cultural background that is also distinguishable. They are linguistically diverse. The dominant language in their home is Cape Verdean Krioulo. In the Brockton School District they are often identified as English Language Learners (ELL). The term ELL describes the population of students who have a primary language other than English and require academic services to improve English skills. Cape Verdeans students identified as ELLs typically have been in the country less than five years or are born in the United States and have lived the first five years of their lives in a Cape Verdean Krioulo dominant home. These students live in cultural and linguistically diverse homes and confront issues specific to immigration. These terms are not
necessarily interchangeable; however, for the purpose of this study and in consideration of the characteristics of the target population, these terms were used interchangeably.

Cape Verdean American youth most often live in homes where family members have mixed immigrant legal status in United States. While the parents have resident status (LPRs) in the United States, often the children are citizens of United States, by birth. Notably, these youth self-identify as culturally, linguistically diverse, of color, and often are English Language Learners. In Brockton Public School District documentation, they are described with all four terms. Their identification and process of acculturation is relevant to the discussion. Chen, Benet-Martinez and Bond (2008) suggest the development of a bicultural identity from direct and mediated intercultural exchanges between culture of origin and host culture. A study completed in 2013 (Chen, Benet-Martinez, Wu, Lam, and Bond, 2013) indicated how bicultural identities can be impacted by individuals perceptions of contradicting elements such as the experiences of cultural isolation and discrimination. Understanding biculturalism, cultural identification in the study of Cape Verdean youth of Brockton Massachusetts is important due to multiple factors imbedded within this population.

Brockton, Massachusetts is the 6th largest city in Massachusetts and largely populated by Cape Verdeans. The concentration of Cape Verdeans is not only visible in Brockton through the presence of businesses and commerce oriented to serve the Cape Verdean community, but also in the number of Cape Verdean children enrolled in the Brockton Public School District. According to the Massachusetts Department of Education (2011), Brockton Public School District has a student enrollment of 16,200 and 34.6% of these students have a first language other than English. Moreover, 20.1% of Brockton’s school district student population is identified as English Language Learners (ELLs). The Brockton school district estimates that 60% of its
students have a first language other than English. The Brockton school district attempts to address language issues and social cultural challenges of a very diverse community by employing twelve bilingual community facilitators of which, five are Cape Verdean, one Portuguese, two Spanish, two Haitian, one Chinese, and one Hmong. The function of the facilitators is to assist families with children’s educational enrollment. The number of Cape Verdean facilitators in comparison to number of facilitators for Portuguese, Spanish, Haitian, Chinese and Hmong is an indicator of the size of the Cape Verdean community in Brockton. According to reports by the parent registration center of Brockton School District, registered 3,193 new and returning students from June 1, 2014 to December 31, 2014. From the total number of students registered, 329 were English Language Learners students, recent arrivals in the United States with 89% being students that came from Cape Verde. Brockton School District benefits from studies with a particular focus on the challenges and experiences of Cape Verdean American students.

The national strategies for improving students’ educational experiences, increasing achievement outcomes, and reducing referrals for Special Education programming have focused on standardizing instruction, incorporating instructional technology, increasing teacher certification, involving parents in the educational process, testing and re-testing students, and ultimately penalizing teachers and administrators for poor achievement outcomes. These are structural reforms occurring within the educational system which do not take into account the social political and economic context. Anyon (2005) states, “macroeconomic and other public policies trump educational policy and urban school reform challenges us to attend to larger issues” (p.13). Despite a focused discussion on the impact of public policies on youths’
educational experiences and achievement outcomes, particularly those of youth of color, scholars do not specifically address the issue of immigration.

The current study examined Cape Verden youth school experiences while confronting the issue of parental deportation and it attempted to determine how such experiences impact youth educationally. My interest in this topic is strongly related to my own feelings of a sense of belonging within the American context. Despite being an American citizen by choice, I have always felt that I am seen differently than an American citizen by birth. I have learned to identify myself as an American citizen by choice, and at times when feeling particularly judged by my listener, I attempt to balance my status with that of an American citizen by birth by adding that my citizenship is not by accident, but rather a conscious choice. I have always had the impression that for a brief moment this statement equalizes me to an American citizen by birth. However, I am aware that the provision of this statement is an indication of deep seeded concerns that I am not equal. These concerns are the consequences of the American contextual conversation about immigration and the negative climate and social images regarding immigrants.

This study sought to contribute to the knowledge base by examining the impact of parental deportation on Cape Verden American youth experiences. Despite significant numbers of children with Cape Verden parents enrolled in the American public school system in southeast New England, limited research studies have been conducted for the purpose of understanding the educational service needs of these children (Sanchez, Thomas & Lima, 2002). An understanding of the impact of deportation on the educational experiences of youth with Cape Verden parents sheds light on the possible outcomes of such policies on other ethnic groups.
Benefits of Community Specific Studies

Emphasis on studies that are community specific and seek to uncover social conditions and public policies that directly impact educational outcomes of all youth benefit American society. It is reported that the federal government would add $45 billion dollars in extra tax revenue if the dropout rate were cut in half (Bridgeland, Dilulio & Morison, 2006). Such revenue would not only be generated by a youth better prepared to contribute with income revenue but it would also be generated through a reduction in public assistance, crime punishment/prevention and public health costs. The search for solutions for the problem of poor achievement outcomes of our youth begin with the question of: what are the specific social issues affecting youth? Specifically, how do immigration policies impact youth in schools? How are we currently serving different youth populations (i.e., diverse, special needs, white)? And how appropriate are the educational structures for the youth that exhibit academic difficulties? It was therefore relevant to explore and understand how youth negotiate the social issues and public policies that impact academic performance and the sense of belonging. The demographic history and current demographic projections of United States population demands a continued focus on the public policies, social conditions, and the educational service provision that have a direct impact on youth of color, English Language Learners, and immigrant students.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Theory. For this multiple case study (Stake, 2005) I used critical theory as a theoretical framework. Critical theory requires that the study of the subject matter be done through a critical lens (Madison, 2005). Critical theory attempts to reveal social inequities, and seeks to uncover social injustices by highlighting sources of oppression. As such, it also focuses on clarifying and bringing awareness to social, economic, cultural, and political occurrences that
disallow for collective action and oppress certain groups. The field of critical theory encompasses a wide terrain. Given the option to concentrate on a specific angle within critical theory, for example cultural citizenship or democracy, I intentionally chose to keep the terrain within which I maneuver, wide. Research using critical theory as the framework must be flexible enough to adapt and adopt multiple frameworks within critical theory.

I considered the topic under examination critical because it is a topic that touches on power relations. Carspecken (1996) argues that basic to critical epistemology is the idea that “for all kinds of truth claims it is the consent given by a group of people, potentially universal in membership that validates the claim” (p.13). Value orientations are supported by the dominant group and these orientations maintain the status quo by disempowering those who have characteristics that lie outside of given consent. Value differentials of what constitutes a right to live in the United States, who is legal, illegal, alien and citizen results in the creation of agencies that exert power, forcing families apart and possibly leaving youth feeling powerless. Youth who live in mixed status homes and confront the possible deportation of a parent are challenged to develop a sense of ethnic identity in the midst of the most difficult situations. Brettell and Sargent (2006) argue that identities are a product of “institutional imposition” and “personal production informed by ethnicity, class, gender, legal status, and political context” (p.7). Feelings of powerlessness over political context and legal decisions that may have a profound impact on life experiences may affect educational outcomes by challenging ideas of democracy, such as fairness and equality, which are often presented as staples of American education.

**Method**

To answer the research questions I used multiple case methodologies (Stake, 2005). My fieldwork consisted of participant observation, participant interviews, and self reflection
accompanied by reflective journaling. I work and live in the community under study. All of the participants were members of the community with parent (s) deported or undergoing the process of deportation.

I considered critical theory to be appropriate for framing this study because the issue of deportation touches on relations of power. The policy legitimizes the matter of “us” versus “them.” The questions that guide multiple case studies framed within critical theory have to do with the how, whys, and in what ways human interaction and access to resources are guided by power. For this study the focus was on how and in what ways are the schooling experiences of adolescents impacted by the deportation of a parent.

**Research Question**

This study was guided by one broad question and a supporting question.

1. How do youth understand, experience and negotiate the deportation of their Cape Verdean parent (s)?
   
   a. In what ways are the schooling experiences of youth impacted when their parent is ordered deported?

**Study Limitations and Ethical Considerations**

When conducting research with youth, several ethical considerations must be present because youth are a vulnerable group given their stage of development. The researcher established rapport by first talking to the parents and obtaining assent and consent for participation. Parent(s) and researcher explored ways in which the youth would benefit from participation and possible challenges as well as how to counter these challenges. I offered parents information on ways youth can advocate for their case (letter writing to political figures, involvement in youth organizations, counseling through community professional agencies) and
feel more empowered. The purpose of research and the role of the researcher were disclosed before the interviews were conducted. This research focused on three families, with youth ranging from ages 13 to 21, and whose father or mother was ordered deported. The participants were the youth, whose parent(s) have an order of deportation. Parents were interviewed for data triangulation, and three community facilitators were also interviewed to better contextualize the community. I only considered youth that were aware of the status of the parent. The small number of participants did not allow for generalizations; however, generalizability was not the goal for this study. The intention was to capture the experience and perceptions of youth with Cape Verdean parents in the process of being deported in its full intensity and richness, and to question the power of such experiences and perceptions in the educational experiences of youth.

From these thick descriptions I sought to derive meaning and offer ideas that point to coherent and possible recommendations for topics to be included in teacher preparation courses, eligibility format for special education, and open the discussions regarding service provision to a segment of population that is consistently described as exhibiting poor performance and poor educational outcomes.

I entered into this project carrying my own experiences as an American Cape Verdean student. Aware of the significance of these experiences, I began by making myself visible to the reader. Some will consider my perspectives subjective and my views biased. However, it is these very perspectives and views that turned me towards this subject. Mayan (2009) argues that in qualitative research “absolute objectivity is impossible and even undesirable because of the social nature and human purposes of research” (p.19). The acknowledgment of the impact of my experiences drove me to exert maximum amount of rigor in this project. It is through the rigor of this endeavor that I was able to assess and heighten my awareness of my experiences of being an
immigrant and then separate these experiences from those of my participants. I have not had, nor do I have a family member that is or has been under the threat of deportation. Therefore, I was unable to directly assess the feelings and experiences derivative of such threat. However as the coordinator for the social division of the Consulate of Republic of Cape Verde, I spoke to those who were ordered deported or whose family members were in process of being deported. Some fought to stay in the United States and a few asked to leave the United States under a voluntary removal hoping to be able to return. Yet, there were some that broken and exhausted asked for a return to Cape Verde. All spoke about their families’ extreme difficulties in dealing with the situation. I seriously and adequately considered all statements and evidence that went against my expectations. To do this I first acknowledged all evidences and statements that went against my norms and made these visible to my reader. Once visible, I explored the presence of these statements and evidences through directly questioning my participants or through literature.

This proposal is organized in three chapters. Chapter one provides the purpose of the study as well as the statement of the problem. I also attempted to give a brief explanation and overview of the methodology in this chapter. Chapter Two contains a literature review dedicated to the topic under study. The literature review is limited given the insufficient amount of literature regarding deportation of Cape Verdeans and its impact on families, specifically youth. I hoped that given the current limited information on the topic this particular study would provide more information as to the impact of parental deportation on youth experiences and ultimately become a contributor in the preparation of teachers for areas densely populated by immigrant youth or youth who live in mixed status homes. Given the current climate regarding immigration, it was also my hope that this study would add to the conversation of the full implications of public policies at ground level. In Chapter Two, I include glimpses of my own experiences in an
attempt to make myself transparent to my reader. I also provide a statement as to the composition of the American student population, the educational achievement of diverse youth, trauma and educational achievement, immigration, deportation and trauma, and deportation in America.

Chapter Three provides a detailed description of the study’s methodology, data collection process, and data analysis. This study contributes to the field of research by providing a greater insight into the educational experiences of youth confronted with the deportation of a parent.

Findings and results are presented in chapter four. Chapter four is divided in two major sections. Section I provides the reader with a grand tour around the issue of deportation in the community of Brockton as seen by community leaders. The theme of deportation is explored through community leaders interviews and document analysis.

A discussion of findings is offered in chapter five. A critical lens is weaved throughout the discussions, which are followed by recommendations. Together, all five chapters are intended to provide a platform for further studies about the topic of the impact on youth of parental separation due to deportation of a parent.

Finally, I choose to end this project in the manner which I begun. I offer my experiences, feelings, points of contradictions and hopes as a Cape Verden American student, teacher, researcher, and person, which have resulted from the completion of this project.
Chapter Two

Purpose

I examined how youth confront and negotiate parental deportation. I sought to determine if the deportation of a parent constitutes a condition of risk for youth as I uncovered the socially situated identities that youth produce at the intersection of the deportation of a parent and the impact of such event in their schooling experiences.

Over the years there have been a number of studies and reports that suggest that student experiences are closely related to educational achievement. These studies have been concentrated in areas such as early childhood experiences (Halle et al., 2009; National Research Council, 2001), homelessness (Buckner, 2008; Culhane, et al., 2003), importance of stable nurturing relationships (Brazelton & Greenspan, 2000) child maltreatment (Perlman & Fantuzzo, 2010), and trauma related to the loss of a family member (Duplechain, Reigner & Packard, 2008). Moreover, a study conducted by Lima (2011) discusses the experiences of immigration to the United States by young Cape Verdean males. Through her studies Lima (2011) concludes that family, school and neighborhoods play a crucial role in the adaptation and acculturation of these youth. However, studies specifically targeting students whose parents are deported are limited. Studies that attempt to provide an understanding of the experiences of diverse students are particularly important given the current population landscape of United States. With this study, I sought to begin the conversation about immigration policies that affect diverse youth’s schooling experiences. I also hoped to provide information on specific topics related to immigration that teacher preparation programs should address; thereby increasing teacher awareness, and
improving services to diverse youth. Studies such as this one have the potential of reminding those in power that the experiences and lived realities of diverse youth must be kept as a central concern when developing public policies, namely those related to immigration.

I first examine the composition of the American student population to understand the importance of addressing the impact of parental deportation on their children. We must also understand the process of immigration as it relates to the schooling experiences of diverse, immigrant youth. The literature review begins with the examination of the composition of the American student population followed by an analysis of the educational achievement of diverse youth. The impact of trauma in educational achievement serves as a platform to the analysis of studies in immigration, deportation and trauma. Finally, I addressed the reality of deportation in America. I concluded with a section describing the largest community of Cape Verdeans in Southeast Massachusetts, Brockton, the community to which this study pertained. My reflections as a Cape Verdean resident in this same community were also included.

The Composition of the American Student Population

It is predicted that by the year 2050, African Americans, Asians, Hispanics and all other races will nearly double (Day, 1996). During the years of 2007-2008, over 5 million students received services in English Language Learner (ELL) programs (Ballantyne, Sanderman & Levy, 2008). It is further projected that by 2030 the population of English Language Learners will comprise 40% of the total population of American schools (Thomas & Collier, 2002). These projections are not surprising given the increases observed from 1990 to 2000. Capps et al., (2005) concluded that the Limited English Proficiency population in American schools grew by 52% between the years of 1990 and 2000. The Massachusetts Department of Education (2011) reported that during 1973 approximately 124 students were identified as ELL, but by 2011 that
number grew to 3,433 in the Brockton Public School District. These numbers represent an increase in the ELL population of close to 270% in a ten year period. Teachers increasingly serve a student population that is considerably different from them; as a result they are removed from matters that may impact youth such as the issue of deportation. Notably teacher demographics remain unchanged, consisting of teachers who are predominately white (87%) and female (74%) (Valentin, 2006). According to the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) English Language Learner or limited Language proficiency refers to a student:

a. Who is age 3 through 21;

b. Who is enrolled or preparing to enroll in an elementary or secondary school;

c. (i) Who was not born in the United States or whose native language is a language other than English;

(ii) Who is a Native American or Alaska native or who is a native resident of the outlying areas, and

(iii) Who comes from an environment where a language other than English has had significant impact on such individual’s level of English language proficiency; or

(iv) Who is migratory and whose native language is other than English and comes from an environment where a language other than English is dominant; and

d. Whose difficulties in speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language may be sufficient to deny the, ability to meet the state’s proficient level of achievement on state assessments;
(i) To learn successfully in classrooms where the language of instruction is English; or

(ii) The opportunity to participate fully in the society. (No Child Left Behind, 2001, Title III, section 3113)

Given current reports on the demographic composition as well as the future predictions of the student population make up, it is indisputable that the American educational system needs to improve its service to youth that are ethnically, racially, and linguistically diverse.

**Educational Achievement of Diverse Youth**

**School Completion.** It is reported that in America a student drops out of school every 26 seconds (America’s Promise Alliance, 2008). In 2003, 5.3 million youth did not have their high school diploma or were listed as having dropped out (Bridgeland, Dilulio, & Morison, 2007). In 2010, Kids Count Data Center reported the dropout rate in America to be 6% with the state of Florida and New Mexico listing 10% dropout rates.

An analysis by The National Center of Education Statistics (2009b) of graduation rates disaggregated by race of students completing high school revealed that 90.6% of white students complete high school, whereas 82.9% of blacks and only 60.3% of Hispanics complete high school (Planty, et al., 2008). Rates of attainment of Bachelor’s degree by race and ethnicity showed that 31.8% of whites, 18.7% of African American students and 12.7% of Hispanic students complete Bachelor’s degree. In the American educational system white students complete higher degrees at nearly double the rates of students who are ethnically, linguistically or racially diverse.

**Academic Achievement.** Furthermore, current statistical reports on student achievement performance levels are also clear as to the disparities found in different segments of the
population (Planty, et al., 2008). Reading achievement levels, aggregated by race/ethnicity indicated that white 4th grade students’ scores are significantly higher in reading, math and writing than students of any other race/ethnicity (Planty, et al., 2008). The National Assessment of Educational Progress reported that in 2009, 6% of fourth-grade ELL students scored at or above proficiency in reading in sharp contrast with 36% of non-ELLS who scored at above proficiency in reading (NCES, 2009b). It was also reported that in 2009, 12% of fourth-grade ELLs scored at or above proficiency in mathematics compared with 41% of non-ELL students (NCES, 2009a). Moreover, the data shows that ELLS are more likely to score below basic levels in math and reading. In addition, ELLs are much more likely to score below the basic level in reading and math across all reported grades. Over 70% of eighth-grade ELLs compared to approximately 20% of non-ELLS scored below basic grade level in reading and math (NCES, 2009a; NCES, 2009b).

Under or lack of achievement of youth who are ethnically, culturally, linguistically and racially diverse and English Language Learners (ELLS) are not the only indicators of the need to continue to explore the educational policies, social treatment and public mandates that relate to this population. Notably, poor academic performance and academic failure result in a downward spiral often leading to labeling and placement in special education programs.

Educational disparities become even more significant when discussing the outcomes of having incomplete or deficient secondary education. Youth who do not complete their education are more likely to be unemployed, live in poverty, be in poor health, become involved with the adult judicial system and be incarcerated. According to the Department of Labor (2003) “High school dropouts are 72% more likely to be unemployed as compared to high school graduates.” In the US in 2007, 65% of youth ages 16-19 were unemployed and 21% of 18-24 year olds were
living in poverty (Kids Count, 2011). It is also reported that “dropouts are more than eight times as likely to be in jail or prison as high school graduates” (The Silent Epidemic, 2006).

An analysis of the Bureau of Justice Statistics from the U. S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, is revealing regarding the impact of incomplete secondary education. It is reported that correctional populations have lower educational attainment than do those in the general population (Harlow, 2003). According to Harlow (2003), “An estimated 40% of state prison inmates, 27% of federal inmates, 47% of inmates in local jails, and 31% of those serving probation sentences have not completed high school or its equivalent while about 18% of the general population failed to attain high school graduation.” (p. 2)

The realities of the outcomes of deficient or incomplete education have led public schools to a continual search for new curricular alternatives and improved ways to serve students. The notable correlation between lack of or deficient education and poor life outcomes has led to curricular overhauls, increased teacher certification, added pressures to administrative staff and more accountability measures impacting students, teachers and administrative personnel. Largely invisible from these debates are the public policies and social conditions traumatic to youth, in particular youth of color, rendering educational initiatives superficial at best.

It is necessary to continue to improve educational service delivery while understanding the sociopolitical context, given the strong association between lack of or deficient education and poor life outcomes. For this it is required that we uncover specific public policies that negatively affect students’ educational experiences possibly challenging their educational achievement and outcomes. Bartholome’ (2008) argues that “the invisible foundation-hegemonic ideologies that inform our perceptions and treatment of subordinated students-needs to be made explicit and studied critically in order to comprehend the challenges presented in minority education” (p.x).
Hegemonic ideologies inform the development and implementation of public policies that deeply affect minority youth. The ways in which these policies impact youth must be made explicit. The purpose of this study was to uncover the impact of (parental) deportation, a specific public policy, on student’s educational experiences. Deportation leads to family separation which is traumatic. Parents who are deported are most often limited and or unable to actively participate in their children’s education, or to contribute financially, socially or emotionally to their upbringing. Parental absence due to deportation is potentially traumatic. Dyregrov (2004) argues that trauma may result in poor attendance in school, poor educational attainment, and difficulty maintaining positive relationships.

**Special Education Placement.** It is significant that ethnically, culturally, linguistically and racially diverse youth are disproportionally placed in special education programs. This population of students is overrepresented in special education programs. For example, while accounting for 14.8% of the population, youth of color make up 20% of the special needs population (Blanchett, 2006). Currently, limited data is available that disaggregates the numbers of students that are ELLs and identified with a disability (Klinger, Artiles, & Barletta, 2006). According to Zehler, Fleischman, Hopstock, Pendzick, and Stevenson (2003) 9% of all ELLs are identified with a disability and 8.2% of students identified with a disability are ELLs. There is an overrepresentation of English Language Learners in special education classes (Yates & Ortiz, 1998).

It is significant that in past years, and very much like the increases observed in the population of culturally and linguistically diverse students, there have been reports of significant increases in the number of children identified with a disability and in need of specialized educational services (Aud et al., 2012). The identification for special education of youth who are
culturally, racially and linguistically diverse has also increased. In Massachusetts the percentage of English Language Learners (ELLs) identified with a disability has increased from 9.8 percent in 2002 to 14.8 percent in 2011 (Parker et al., 2012). These increases have resulted in considerable changes in the services schools provide.

**Services Available to Diverse Student Population**

The development and implementation of mandates such as No Child Left Behind 2001 (NCLB) and The Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act of 2004 (IDEIA) place the responsibility of identifying, placing and serving all students in need of specialized services on the school personnel (Yell & Drasgow, 2007.) Once a student is identified with a disability specialized school personnel provide the educational services. Assessments are conducted periodically to ascertain if the problem is “fixed.” The view of disabilities in American schools is that the disability lives in the person. The search for solutions and improved educational outcomes for these students remain in “fixing” them through pharmacological, therapeutic interventions, and curricular and or instructional changes. As the focus remains on the child and the responsibility solely on the school and away from the social conditions or specific policies that may be at the root of the problem and or contribute and exacerbate the problem, children continue to exhibit poor academic outcomes and numbers of those identified for special education program continues to rise.

The availability of “expert” personnel to diagnose, implement, monitor, and assess services is the most prevalent response to the needs of youth. Despite Special Education programming that offers specialized instruction, the President’s Commission on Excellence in Special Education (2002) reported that students in special education drop out at twice the rate of their peers in general education. Also, students’ with disabilities mean scores in reading and
mathematics are significantly lower than their white counterparts in all tested grades (Aud et al., 2012) even after specialized instruction is provided. Furthermore, arrest rates for youth who attended specialized education programs and dropped out were significantly higher than those with a high school degree (American Psychological Association, 2012).

Meeting the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse youth, is limited to improving English language skills or providing behavioral modification interventions. Diverse students and speakers of other language are assessed for English language skills, tracked into, monitored, tested and re-tested with the objective of being mainstreamed into the general population. For these students, language skills are perceived to be the primary barrier to academic success. Seldom are their lived realities in a foreign country considered barriers nor are public policies that lie outside of the school walls, which may potentially impact them, questioned from the perspective of youth, namely youth of color.

Despite the diverse and special needs of students exhibiting continued lower performances as measured by standardized tests, the services for these students remain unchanged. The solution for lower academic outcomes of these students remains on “fixing” them. These perceptions stem from the belief that while white students bring all the necessary “tools” for learning, culturally, linguistically, and colored youth begin their educational careers already short of what is necessary.

Factors Affecting Schooling Experiences and Achievement for Diverse Youth

Teacher Expectation. Cochran-Smith and Fries (2011) argue that the factors that contribute to diverse student population’s lower achievement outcomes are: the demographic imperative, low teacher expectations of students of color, and the understanding of diversity from a deficit perspective. According to Ford (2008), one of the main reasons for the
underrepresentation of diverse students in gifted programs is teacher’s low expectations. Hollins and Guzman (2005), state that many teacher candidates enter preparation programs with deficit attitudes about students from diverse backgrounds. These attitudes and beliefs are carried into the profession resulting in actions that have immediate and direct impact on diverse students.

**Race.** An analysis of studies conducted in the 1970’s and early 1980’s examined teacher perceptions and found that race was a significant factor in teacher referral decisions for special education services (Tyler, et al., 2006). Other studies found that teachers perceived linguistically diverse students as exhibiting more negative behaviors than their white peers (Tyler et al. 2006). Given the demographic differences between the teaching population and the student population we can assume that teaching personnel are uninformed regarding the social factors and public policies that lie beyond the school walls that may be affecting diverse students.

Some experts argue that such academic difficulties must first be considered from a socio cultural perspective (Gipps, 1999). In essence, the argument is that specific social conditions can be risk factors and are also disabling to youth, compromising their functioning in school, thus leading to poor educational experiences and lower performances. At times, these conditions can also result in the identification, placement and tracking into the various categories of special education. An examination of specific conditions that may potentially lead to youth distress may lead to improved teacher preparation, more responsive services and ultimately higher achievement outcomes among youth at risk for academic failure.

**Trauma and Educational Experiences, Deportation, Immigration and Linguistic Diversity**

The term “trauma” has its origin in medicine (Braga, et al. 2008). Used first to signify injury to the body, the term trauma has evolved to encompass experiences of situations or events that are perceived by the individual as sudden, negative, and uncontrollable (Carlson, 1997).
Trauma in infants and young children is defined as a physical or psychological threat or assault to a child’s physical integrity, sense of self, safety or survival or to the physical safety of another person significant to the child” (Vermont Department of Health, Division of Health, 2005, P.170).

According to the Vermont Department of Health, Division of Health (2005) children may experience trauma due to a variety of circumstances, including physical, sexual, emotional abuse, neglect, domestic violence exposure, parental substance abuse, parental disability or illness, severe family stress and crisis, loss and separation from caregivers and immigration. We know that given protective factors and personal characteristics the experience and intensity of trauma differs from person to person (Riggs & Riggs, 2011), and that trauma can be presented in a variety of situations and results in psychological distress and psychiatric diagnosis (Shnurr, Friedman & Bernardy, 2002). Furthermore, trauma and psychological distress results in poor academic achievement (Porche & Fortuna, 2011; Rothon et al., 2009; Duplehain, Reigner & Packard, 2008). Understanding physical, emotional and psychiatric aspects of trauma leads to an understanding of how and to what extent trauma impacts educational experiences and academic achievement.

Goodman, Miller and West-Olatunji (2012) examined the impact of psychological trauma in education achievement using data from the nationally representative Early Childhood Longitudinal Study of the kindergarten class of 1998–99. The exploratory study included data from 11,820 fifth-grade students and it spanned the years of 1999-2007. This study’s data consisted of direct child assessments, parent interviews, and teacher assessments. Goodman, Miller and West-Olatunji (2012) found that the presence of traumatic stress significantly
increased the likelihood of academic underachievement and placement in special education program.

The re-experiencing of trauma through nightmares, flashbacks and intrusive thoughts was associated to behaviors such as social skills problems in school, disengagement, frustration and cognitive disturbances. According to Goodman and West-Olatunji (2012), “among students experiencing traumatic stress, the percentage of students with an IEP was more than double that of students not experiencing traumatic stress.” (p.256) The study did not specifically address the trauma due to immigration, deportation or separation from a parent; however, trauma of any kind could potentially have the same symptoms and outcomes. In an extensive literature review and clinical observations of a cohort of children conducted by Streeck-Fisher and Van Der Kolk (2000) found that exposure to traumatic events results in emotional, psychological and biological deficits that impact learning ability. In essence, memory, and cognitive engagements are compromised by the exposure to multiple traumatic intra familial and medical events (Streeck-Fisher, & Van Der Kolk, 2000).

A series of studies conducted by Saylor, Macias, Wohlfeiler, Morgan and Awkerman (2009) concluded that children exposed to potentially traumatic life events scored significantly higher in school difficulties and behavior problems. Saylor et al. (2009) compared the responses of Pediatric Emotional Distress Scale of 102 parents of children with special needs with responses of 58 parents of children with no diagnosis, concluding that children identified for special needs services have significantly more exposures to traumatic events than those not identified for special needs services. Specific events listed in the study were death of a loved one, a move to a new home, change in schools, illness/hospitalization of a child, illness/hospitalization of a loved one, parental separation/divorce, marriage in family, birth in
family, pregnancy in family, conflict in the home, disaster or accident, or a new person moving into the home (Saylor et al., 2009) The event of immigration or deportation of a parent was not presented in the Saylor et al. study (2009).

For immigrant students and students that live in mixed status homes, the lived realities of immigration may be traumatic. Immigration may trigger anxiety, depression and an inability to progress developmentally for some children. These reactions may be further exacerbated if children or other family members have been the victims of persecution, violence, severe poverty, homelessness, exile, or have witnessed violence, death and destruction (Vermont Department of Health, Division of Health, 2005, P.160).

Upon examining data from the Collaborative Psychiatric Epidemiology Surveys of 2,532 young adults, immigrants and U.S. born, Porche and Fortuna (2011) found that there is an increased likelihood of dropping out among black and immigrant youth. This study was examined through retrospective data and correlates to high school dropout (Porche and Fortuna, 2011). Survey data was collected from U.S. born adults, ages 21-29, who were foreign born and migrated to the United States during various ages specifically age 12 and under, age 13-17, and those that migrated at the age of 18 or older. Porche and Fortuna (2011) found that immigrant youth with childhood anxiety disorders and a history of trauma were more likely to drop out than the non-immigrant student population. The study included African Americans, Afrocaribbean, Asian, Latino, and non-Latino white. Goodman and West-Olatunji (2010) argue that members of socially marginalized groups are under persistent traumatic stress due to systemic oppression and educational hegemony. Recognizing systemic injustice and structural subjection as a source of trauma for socially marginalized groups, Zalaquett, Fuerth, Stein, Ivey, and Ivey (2008) proposed an approach to diagnosis that is inclusive of individual perception and contextual
issues. Researchers in the field of psychology, public health, social work and counseling (Forman, 2003; Goodman & West-Olatunji, 2009; Harell, Hall & Taliaferro, 2003; Paradies, 2006) have studied and consistently linked the effects of trauma caused by discrimination and systemic oppression on the well-being of culturally and linguistically diverse population.

The deportation of a parent can be a traumatic life event for children. Androff et al., (2011) positioned the argument specifically for children of undocumented aliens suggesting that the stress of immigration, possible deportation, and economic insecurity results in barriers to education, poor health outcomes, discrimination, trauma and harm to the children, families and to entire communities. Studies focused on legal permanent residents are limited. The purpose of this study was to uncover the impact of parental deportation on schooling experiences with a focus on Cape Verdean American youth who are children of parents who entered the United States with permanent resident visas. LPRs enter the country with the expectation that they will permanently live in the United States, and as such, maintain limited ties to the country of origin. Cape Verdean children of LPRs most often identify as Americans.

**Deportation in America**

From the years of 1997 to 2001, 897,000 people were deported of which 20% were lawful permanent residents (LPRs) in the U.S., with most having established residency for more than ten years (Baum, Jones & Barry, 2010). On October 6, 2010, the United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced record-breaking numbers of deportations which is carefully termed by DHS as removals. Between the years of 2009 to 2010 approximately 800,000 people were deported from the United States. The Office of the Press Secretary (2010) announced that in 2009, “Half of those removed - more than 195,000-were convicted criminals.” Also, according to the United States Department of Homeland Security (2011), 393,289 aliens
were removed, and of those removed, 264,944 were removed for non-criminal reasons and less than half of the total numbers (128,345) were identified as criminal aliens. Hagan, Eschbach, and Rodriguez (2008) concluded that a significant number of people deported from the United States are poor Latin American immigrants and for the most part they are removed for non-criminal reasons. Following an in depth study of Immigration Customs Enforcement data, Human Rights Watch (2009), concluded that 77 percent of LPRs who were targeted for removals were deported for non-violent offenses and only 23 percent of LPRs were deported for violent offenses. The Department of Homeland Security (yearbook of immigration statistics, 2013) reports that from the years of 2004 to 2013 a total of 8,420,687 people were apprehended, 3,465,061 removed and 6,797,268 were returned from the United States to country of origin. The people removed or returned are originally from 6 regions of the world; Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, Oceania, and South America. While the number of apprehensions has maintained, the number of removals has increased and the number of returns has decreased. DHS terms removals, cases which result in a deportation, that is court ordered. Returns are those cases that the person has returned to country of origin voluntarily or under an administrative request by DHS. Removals and returns have the same outcome, which is expulsion from United States. Figure 1. provides a visual representation of the overall decreases in apprehensions, and returns and the increases in removals for years 2004 to 2013.

The passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996, the Antiterrorism Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) of 1996 in response to the Oklahoma City bombing, coupled with the response to the September 11, 2001 events resulted in an increase of deportations of undocumented as well as legal permanent residents (LPRs) from United States. IIRIRA of 1996 and the AEDPA of 1996 limited judicial powers, restricted due process, and
eliminated family hardship as a relief from deportation (Hagan, Eschbach & Rodriguez, 2008). Also relevant to the increased number of people deported is the retroactivity aspect of the law which allows for crimes not defined as aggravated felonies, committed prior to 1996 to be punishable by deportation. Following the 2001 events, the U.S. Patriot Act of 2001 was signed into law and the United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created. These laws are discussed by many U.S. experts as unwarranted, unfair and damaging for the entire U.S. society (Dow, 2004; Kanstroom, 2007; Welch, 2004, 2002).

Figure 1. Apprehensions, Removals and Returns 2004-2013

Debates, discussions and conversations about deportation seldom include information about the citizens, U. S. children or U. S. spouses of those that are in the process of being deported or have been deported. In fact, most of those I speak to about this subject matter, quickly admit that when thinking about deportation, they do not consider or remember that
children, and much less American born children may be impacted. Along with this oversight, the impact of parental deportation in community structures such as health, welfare agencies and school districts, are also seldom considered. The limited information and suppression of historical memory are an effective mechanism in the domination of immigrants and subordinate groups. Many have forgotten about the inhuman treatment of Mexican workers during the Bracero program of 1942 to 1964 (Julian, 1971; Donato, 1997; Durand, 2007), the abuses and racism which fueled the Chinese exclusion act of 1882 (Campi, 2004), or the Japanese internment camps of 1942 (Chin, 2004). Likewise, the dynamics and full impact of deportation also has limited and or strategic exposure.

In response to the growing decade long outcry for immigration reforms and beginning in 2011, Congress, made a specific requirement that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) keep data regarding the number of parents of U. S. citizens deported. These data are to be provided in a joint explanatory statement and submitted semi-annually to the Committee and the office of Immigration Statistics. Baum, Jones, and Barry (2010) in an executive summary addressing the plight of children of Lawful Permanent Residents, propose that;

a) Judicial discretion be restore for all cases involving LPRs with U.S. Citizen children.

b) Revert to the pre- 1996 definition of “aggravated felony”

c) Data collection on children of LPRs impacted by parental deportation

d) Strict guidelines for deportation of LPRs with U.S. citizen children. (Baum, Jones, and Barry, 2010, P.1)

Recently President Barack Obama took action to protect families from separation through deportation. However, in his remarks he mainly aimed at undocumented families with children (Obama, 2014). No protections were granted to LPRs with U.S. citizen children (Obama, 2014).
The president’s actions towards the separation of families through deportation has been met with enormous political resistance.

Passel, Krostag & Gonzalez-Barrera (2014) reported that over 50% of unauthorized population, immigrants without legal status in the United States, have children that are U.S. Born. Also contrary to the assumptions that most who are undocumented are single adults, it was reported that more than 50% of the undocumented population are in fact families (Passel, Krostag & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2014). For adults who migrated with legal permanent status (the authorized population) the number of American born children is dramatically larger. Moving to the United States legally, results in the expectation that families will be established and children will be born in the United States. Immigration to the United States was and remains desirable due to the demographic possibilities it brings in terms of increases in birth rates. As a result large numbers of children live in homes with mixed immigration status.

**Outcomes of Family Deportation**

Deportation of LPRs causes family separation. Children living in mixed status home are at risk of being separated from their parents at any moment. The repercussions of living in a state of deportability, or going through deportation of a caretaker can have significant implications for the children involved in the process. One can effectively argue that for children of immigrants, who are born in America the implications are compounded. These children often feel the burden of having to make a choice between their country and their parents’ country. During this turmoil and state of uncertainty, children are expected to attend and perform well in school. In the case of parental deportation, the family deals with the added stress of having to choose between permanent separation and relocation. The family may choose to relocate to countries that the children have never been, speak little of the language and have had limited exposure to the
culture. Most often these countries are poor and present with significant political, economic and social challenges for its population. On the other hand, the idea of permanent separation from parents can be traumatic and inconceivable. These children remain in a single parent household or are placed with extended families. It is estimated that between the years of 1997 and 2007 more than 100,000 children were impacted by the deportation of a LPR parent (Baum, Jones & Barry, 2010).

The increased vulnerability of the young children of immigrants due to their parent’s immigrant status is of concern. The Urban Institute reports that 99% of young children of these children are at increased risk for forced family separation due to deportation, lower levels of parental education and of income. Fortuny, Hernandez, and Chaudry, (2010) found that young children of immigrants are disproportionately poor or low income. Despite revealing data, these statistics do not capture the concentrated effects on the ecology of bounded specific communities. Some communities are affected more than others given the sheer size of the immigrant population. Once affected the implications of deportation move well beyond the family, affecting entire communities and structures a whole. A community that has been impacted by deportation of Cape Verdeans is Brockton, Massachusetts.

Linguistic diversity and Immigration

There are many challenges to providing services to students who are culturally, linguistically diverse and immigrant. Limited English proficiency and language barriers between home and school officials are some of the immediate obstacles for this population of students (Lima, 2011). To further complicate matters there have been limited number of empirical studies that address the instructional needs of the population of students who are culturally, linguistically diverse and immigrant (Shyyan, Thurlow & Liu, 2008) and there have been even fewer studies
that address the impact of public policies in the education of these youth. Such studies are important because culturally and linguistically diverse youth live within the boundaries of immigration. In The United States there are specific public policies that address immigration and there is a social climate that responds and instigates these policies. An exploration of such policies and an understanding of the impact of the climate are long overdue given current predictions of racial and ethnic composition of American population.

The linguistic condition of Cape Verde is particularly complex given its diglossic imposition. Diglossia is a condition where two languages are in use. One language is used in formal and the other for informal encounters. This condition allows for a linguistic power relationship between the two languages resulting in the poor and least educate segments of the population being placed in a socially vulnerable position. The official language of Cape Verde is Portuguese; however, the cultural and oral language is Krioulo. The development of Krioulo in its written form has only recently been addressed and its oral form has significant variations depending on the island it originates from. Service providers attest to the difficulties in serving the Cape Verdean community given its linguistic diversity (Thomas & Sanchez, 1999) and the lack of uniformity in written Krioulo. Limited English skills place the Cape Verdean communities in a vulnerable position.

**Development of Bicultural Identity**

Immigrant and first generation youth develop their identity while living in between cultural spaces. Interaction between culture of origin and host culture influences their identity perception. Schwartz, Zamboanga and Weisskirch (2008) provided measures of personal identity processes, heritage and American cultural practices, values, and identifications to 2,411 emerging adults at 30 United States Universities and Colleges, who were either born abroad or
with parents born outside the United States to determine the extent to which measures would differ across personal identity statuses. Their findings, for both groups of participants (those born abroad or those with parents born abroad) suggest a convergence of personal identity and cultural identity (Schwartz, et Al., 2008.) This convergence is punctuated by the elements of exploration and choice. The exchange of ideas and experiences in and between cultures of origin and host is a determinant in the development of cultural identity.

Scholars have also explored threats to the development of personal and cultural identity. Petriglieri (2011) suggests that individuals respond in two different ways when presented with threats to their identity. Some may restructure their identity by re-aligning with dominant or culture of origin depending on the threat and others respond by protecting their identity through maintaining and underlining elements of primary culture (Petriglieri, 2011). Furthermore, Petriglieri (2011) framework suggests that individual’s responses to acculturation when presented with a threat may take three courses; deflating or devaluing those who present a threat, conceal their identity, or re-structure identity through identity deletion. In exploring identity and acculturation processes in youth with mixed heritages, Howarth, Wagner and Magnusson (2014) found that acculturation is “dynamic, situated, and multifaceted” (p.81). Furthermore they found that acculturation and identities are constructed through oppositional themes which they list as “cultural maintenance versus cultural contact; identity as inclusion versus identity as exclusion; institutionalized ideologies versus agency” (Howarth, Wagner and Magnusson, 2014, p.81)

Consistently studies in the various facets of identity development and acculturation point to the importance of experiences and environment as determinant factors (Badea, Jetten, Iyer, and Er-Rafiy, 2011; Neto, 2006; Mana, Orr and Mana, 2009; Fisher and Model, 2012). Bowskill,
Lyons and Coyle (2007) point to a tendency for research in acculturation to be integrated in rhetoric, that conceals the (re-)production of a more implicit assimilationism (p.793) and suggest the need for research in acculturation that is more environmentally grounded, and attentive to the hegemonic structures. Howarth, Wagner and Magnusson (2014) concluded their study by positing that “acculturation strategies are profoundly political and psychological as they are embedded in the politics of intercultural relations, social histories, family dynamics, and systems of social support” (p. 93). Studies that targeted immigration policies and the impact of such policies on immigrant populations can be revealing and provocative to the understanding of identity development and acculturation processes.

**Cape Verdean Community of Brockton, Massachusetts**

The largest concentration of Cape Verdeans immigrants is found in Southeastern New England (Sanchez, Thomas, & Lima, 2002). Massachusetts and Rhode Island have historically been confronted with large numbers of Cape Verdean immigrants. Brockton, Massachusetts is a city largely populated by Cape Verdeans. Brockton is located in Plymouth County, Massachusetts and is the 6th largest city in Massachusetts. The American Community Survey 5 Year Estimates (2005-2009) reported 93,217 inhabitants in Brockton. From those a reported 11,269 are estimated to come from Cape Verdean ancestry and 7,206 are foreign born and report Cape Verde as their country of birth. The Office of Management and Budget (year) does not have a specific race classification for Cape Verdeans within the six established racial categories and the category of Cape Verdean as an ethnicity was only recently included in census documentation.

The number of Cape Verdeans obtaining naturalization remains low compared to the number of Cape Verdeans obtaining legal permanent residency status. The United States
Department of Homeland Security (2010), reports that in 2009, 2,238 Cape Verdeans obtained permanent residency status and only 903 filed and were naturalized. The process of naturalization is often difficult due to the skills needed (i.e., knowledge of U.S. history, fluency in English, etc). Immigrant Cape Verdeans tend to have limited knowledge about the U.S. context. Also, the most of those who emigrate have lower levels of education and upon arrival in the U.S. search for employment rather than increase or improve their level of education. Cape Verdeans tend to remain in tight knit Cape Verdean immigrant communities in order to circumvent the need to acquire and gain fluency in English. For these tight knit communities, the implications of deportation move well beyond the family. Consequently, deportation affects entire communities and structures as a whole.

**Deportation of Cape Verdeans**

The deportation of Cape Verdeans has serious implications for Cape Verde and the Cape Verdean American communities in the United States. Cape Verde is comprised of 10 islands and its total land mass is 4.033 Sq Km, making it slightly larger than the State of Rhode Island. In 2013, it was reported that Cape Verde’s total population is 531,046 (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cv.html); however, Cape Verde’s climate, social political history and lack of resources has resulted in a large number of its people emigrating to European and American continents. The Cape Verdean government estimates that over 500,000 Cape Verdeans live outside of Cape Verde. Cape Verde’s diaspora is assessed to be as large as the population of Cape Verdeans living in Cape Verde (approximately 500,000). In the United States, the communities in southeast New England are among the largest communities of Cape Verdeans for the Cape Verdean diaspora. Brockton
receives large numbers of Cape Verdeans. The Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde maintains a presence in Brockton due to its population being mostly Cape Verdeans.

In the cases of deportation, the Consulate of Republic of Cape Verde in Boston is notified by the Immigration Customs Enforcement of all Cape Verdeans who need travel documents emitted in order to comply with an order of deportation. These notifications do not include Cape Verdeans who have a valid up-to-date passport or who are deemed inadmissible, upon reentry in the United States. Families from deportees may also contact the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde to obtain assistance when a family member is ordered deported. However, Not all families contact the Consulate. Lack of information and knowledge results in many families not contacting the Consulate to request assistance. Also, Immigration Customs Enforcement does not notify the Consulate of a deportation or return in cases that the agency is in possession of a passport. In such cases the deportation is processed within days, leaving the families with little time to contact attorneys or take any legal action.

Once contacted by ICE or families, the Consulate is charged with generating a file, if necessary contacting ICE or families and contacting Cape Verdean authorities in Cape Verde in an effort to develop a reinsertion plan for deportees. Health, educational records and information of family members residing in Cape Verde that are willing to provide support is collected. In most cases deportees do not have family members in Cape Verde and as a result they do not have a social system of support. Often the family members that remain in the United States provide financial support to the person deported to Cape Verde while living in Brockton. The information in the files generated by the Consulate, include marital status, island of origin, age of arrival, family members residing in the United States as well as family members residing in Cape Verde. In 2011, these information was kept mainly in hard copy documents.
To access a profile of the families and the person deported, I collected information through the Consulate of Cape Verde from the files generated for each case and data files from the Department of Homeland Security. Given that most of the Consulate data were in hard copies, and spread across family interviews, phone interviews with those being deported, and other incidental documents, not all years were captured. The numbers of travel documents generated for the purpose of deportation, were accessed through the actual request and files with copies of documents provided to ICE.

According to the data from Department of Homeland Security (Immigration Yearbook, 2003) many more Cape Verdeans are apprehended and incarcerated by ICE, in an attempt to deport than are actually deported. Often those apprehended are not deported due to a stay or judicial cancellation of deportation. Figure 2, provides a visual representation of those apprehended and those deported between the years of 2004 to 2012.

Figure 2. Cape Verdean Apprehended and Removed by ICE
Department of Homeland Security data (Immigration yearbook, 2013) shows that from the years of 2004 to 2012, a total of 355 Cape Verdeans were deported, averaging approximately 40 people per year. Year 2013 was not reported in an effort to limit data disclosure. An analysis of data from the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde reveals that none of those deported between the years of 1997 to 2013 have returned to the United States. From the 355 people deported between the years of 2004 to 2012, it is reported that 267 were deported for criminal reasons and 88 for non-criminal reasons. From 2004 to 2010 the number of criminal deportations exceeded non-criminal. However in 2011 and 2012 many more people were deported for non-criminal reasons than criminal. (Immigration Yearbook, 2013.)

Also, Consulate data shows that the population of people deported with travel documents emitted by the Consulate arrived in the United States, for the most part between 6 and 17 years of age. Figure 3 presents the age of arrival in the United States of those with emitted travel documents for the purpose of deportation.

![Figure 3. Age of Arrival in the United States of those provided with a travel document 2007-2010.](image)

Between the years of 2007-2010, the majority of Cape Verdeans provided with the travel documents for deportations purposes were between the ages of 19 and 38 (Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde).
According to the data offered by the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde, persons deported to Cape Verde most likely arrived in the United States at a very young age (6-17). They generally are in the plenitude of adulthood (19-38) at the time of deportation. An overwhelming majority are lawful permanent residents and have resided in the United States for more than 10 years. They have strong family ties in the United States. They are mostly English speakers and parents of American born children. For the most part they have not returned to Cape Verde since arrival in the United States and according to the interviews provided to the Consulate, most express having no ties to Cape Verde. Families that remain in the United States become responsible for financially assisting relatives that are deported given the unemployment rates and the lack of social supports in Cape Verde.
Chapter Three

Method

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of parental deportation on youth experiences. I explored how youth confront and negotiate the possibility of forced parental separation due to deportation by uncovering the socially situated identities that youth produce when confronted with the deportation of a parent. I sought to determine if the impact of such event is a risk factor for youth achievement outcomes. Through an understanding of how teens negotiate the experiences and perceptions of schooling given the possibility of parental deportation, we can begin to develop appropriate support systems, prepare teachers that work in areas with high concentration of immigrant populations and to better serve students that live in mixed status homes. Forced family separation is traumatic and the policies that allow for such separation are oppressive. I wanted to add to the conversation about immigration policies, in particular deportation policies that lie outside the school walls but that ultimately may produce academic risks for youth. I understood that the subject is exploratory in nature because there have not been studies focused on the impact on schooling experiences of Cape Verdean youth subsequent to parents being deported. It made sense that this study be qualitative given the specificity of the topic studied, the exploratory nature of the study and the potential for hypothesis generation rather than hypothesis testing. I chose to align my study with the case study methodology by Stake (2006). Despite my understanding of case study methodology by Stake (2006) and my belief that it was best suited for my study, I also considered and aligned this study with features from critical ethnographic methodology because of its appropriateness to the
topic under study. Patton (1990) favors “a paradigm of choices” and “rejects methodological orthodoxy in favor of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality” (p.39). One example of such consideration is the development of grand tour questions as recommended for critical ethnographic design by Fetterman (1998). Grand tour questions allow for a better understanding of the participants social context and provide the reader a better understanding of the current climate regarding the issue of immigration, in particular deportation. I considered this perspective crucial in understanding Cape Verdean American youth’s negotiation with the issue at hand.

I began with a discussion about multiple case study methodology followed by a historical review of case study methodology. It was important to analyze the process as well as the historical origins of case study methodology to understand how the method responded to the study, thereby gaining an appreciation for the choice of methodology. In this process I situated myself, the researcher, for I feel that who I am, where I come from, and what I have become through my lived experiences made it possible to tackle this study from a critical perspective. It is not required that my readers have a critical position. However, I hoped to make my views available for the scrutiny of my readers. I realized that in so doing I made myself vulnerable. As a researcher working within a critical perspective framework, I saw the need to expose my experiences to my readers, for these experiences are responsible for and responsive to the choices I made as a researcher. This perspective required exposure which resulted in vulnerability. The product of my work was left to the judgment of my readers.

**Case Study Methodology**

A case study is an empirical inquiry of a complex functioning unit, with a contemporary phenomenon, in its natural context (Gillham, 2001; Stake, 1998; Yin, 2009). A multiple case
study refers to the study of more than one case (Yin, 2009) when the cases are similar in some ways (Stake, 2006). In case study methodology it is important to define a case because the very definition of what constitutes a case is the source of much debate (Johanson, 2003). Stake (2006) defines a case as a “noun, a thing, an entity” (p.1), “an integrated system” (p.436) with specificity and boundedness. He says that a case is not “a verb, a participle, a function” (Stake, 2006, p.1). Stake (2006) states that understanding a case “requires experiencing the activity of the case as it occurs in its contexts and in its particular situation.” (p.2) Johanson (2003) defines a case as a “phenomenon specific to time and space.” For this study, a case was the youth whose parent(s) were being deported because this constituted a relatively bounded object, who were experiencing a phenomenon specific to time and space. According to Yin (2009) case studies are best to research questions that ask “how” or “why” of phenomena that the researcher has no control over. For this study such issue was how youth understand, experience and negotiate parental deportation and in what ways youth’s schooling experiences are impacted.

Critical Theory Framework

This study employed a multiple case study methodology (Stake, 2006) framed within critical theory (Carspeken, 1996) and it was defined as an exploratory case study. This study explored the impact of parental deportation on youth’s schooling experiences using a critical theoretical perspective. Critical exploratory case study methodology seeks to uncover social injustices by highlighting sources of oppression. It also focuses on clarifying and bringing awareness to social, economic, cultural, and political occurrences that disallow for collective action and oppress certain groups. A critical exploratory case study served this study well because it focused on the how students experience and negotiate their parent being ordered deported and in what ways their schooling experiences are impacted by the threat of parental
deportation. Stake (2006) defines the phenomenon or the condition of a case as a quintain. He considers the word phenomenon or condition as limiting and the word quintain as more encompassing due to being “uncommon” and “generic” (p.6). For this study the quintain was the *how* youth negotiated and experienced the deportation of a parent.

This study served as an exploratory methodology due to limited research studies of Cape Verdean children and youth undergoing the process of parental deportation. An exploratory case study focuses on a phenomenon that is contemporary, such as the issue of youth experiences when parental deportation is a reality. Also, as the name suggests, an exploratory case study focuses on a phenomenon that is understudied and requires exploration (Yin, 2009). Stake identifies the purposes for conducting case studies as intrinsic, instrumental and collective (2006). This intrinsic case study required that the “main enduring interest be in the case itself” (Stake, 2006, p.8). This instrumental case study propels the purpose beyond the case itself and focuses on the quintain. The collective case study requires that a group of cases be studied. According to Stake’s definition of the purpose of case study, this study would be defined as an instrumental case study because it sought to go beyond the particular case itself. Furthermore Stake (2006) suggests that multiple case studies are most often instrumental in nature because of its predisposition to cross-analysis and its “emphasis on the binding concept or idea” (Stake, 2006, p.8). For the multiple case studies I presented here, I chose to call it exploratory because I found the word exploratory more suitable for the purpose of the case study. An exploratory case study offers the opportunity to explore a particular “issue where little theory is available or measurement is unclear” (Kohn, 1997, p.3). The issue of deportation is not new; however the increases in deportation, the severity of the laws related to deportation post September 11 of 2001 are new. I recognized that according to Stake’s definition this case study was instrumental.
According to Tellis (1997), case studies “are designed to bring out details from the viewpoint of the participants by using multiple sources of data” (p.1). The details, viewpoints and voices of participants are crucial in answering the research question. Tellis (1997) also suggests that the salient characteristics of case studies are multi-perspective characteristics of the analysis. The voice and perspective of the participants, as well as the voice and perspectives of multiple actors and the interaction between the two is to be considered. For this study the perspective and voices of the participants, who were the youth with parents with deportation orders served to answer the research question, the voices and perspectives of close family members were included. The interaction of the two was analyzed to assist with meaning making. A multiple case study allows for cross-case analysis with emphasis on the binding concept (Stake, 2006). Cross-analysis between and within cases will also add to meaning making.

Exploratory case study methodology conducted within a critical theoretical framework seeks to produce a sociopolitical critique in an effort to transform and promote change in the communities under study. As such, researchers must make explicit their theoretical perspectives (e.g., feminist). Theory is an intricate part of the method used. As critical theory attempts to uncover social inequities so does critical case study methodology. A critical perspective focuses on issues of power that are particular to a cultural context and assumes that oppression is multifaceted and that in every situation privilege exists (Carspecken, 1996). Within the context of those being studied, the researcher attempts to uncover the ways in which issues related to power are present. This type of structural analysis concentrates on the intricate and complex ways in which cultural, political and economic power are formed. Critical case study methodology work aims at uncovering forms of domination and power within social practices and in specific social cultural contexts. For this study a critical theoretical frame around case
study methodology was the most recommended method because the issue under study crossed cultures and subordinates particular groups to oppressive conditions. While many of the children were U.S. born, raised in bicultural homes and studied in American public schools, the parents had cultural origins outside of the United States. It is also crucial that such study be undertaken within the critical framework given that the issue is deportation. The idea of deportation creates a sense of *them* versus *us* and as a result lends support to the hegemonic views present in American society. Hegemony refers to the social, political, intellectual, economic control of a dominant group over subordinate groups (Gramsci, 1971). The system of deportation points to social inequities in the law and a hierarchical system of who has the right to stay and who must leave.

Also, any attempt to understand and describe social cultural contexts and meaning making requires interaction with those under study and a critical framework for in depth analysis. I lived in southeast Massachusetts and in the community where the study took place. I lived in this community from the years of 1985 to 1995 and I returned to the community of Brockton in 2010. I have lived in Brockton for the past three years. I worked for the Cape Verdean consulate as the coordinator of the social division, and I currently work as a bilingual special needs teacher in the district’s public schools. As the former coordinator for the social division for the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde, I was involved in community events, and had direct contact with the community. As a bilingual teacher for students with special needs, I have direct contact with Cape Verdean parents and students.

As a researcher, I was not detached or a neutral participant. My choice of what to study and how to understand it indicates the recognition of the presence of oppression and demonstrates the willingness and intent to emancipate oppressed groups. Through this process
and as a critical researcher, I interrogated myself through reflexive critique and I simultaneously attempted to understand the ways in which mainstream research practices may reproduce oppressive practices (Carspecken, 1996).

**History of Case Study Methodology**

Case study methodology has a tradition in the social sciences. It was first introduced in the work of Frédéric Le Play in 1829. A French sociologist, Leplay developed case study methodology to observe the European working men in mining communities (Mogley, 1955). Case study methodology gained much popularity in the fields of anthropology and sociology throughout the 1900’s (Tellis, 1997a). It was widely used in France and in Chicago. Popularized in France, through the work of Frédéric Le play, it was used in the Chicago Schools to examine the phenomena related to the immigration in the early 1900’s (Tellis, 1997a). In the mid 1900’s it sustained some criticisms due to its qualitative nature and some deemed it as lacking rigor. A movement supported by Columbia University called for the inclusion of quantitative measures (Tellis, 1997a). Its popularity briefly declined, only to again emerge in the late 1960’s with the work of Strauss and Glasser (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* published by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glasser in 1967 as well as the publication of other well regarded studies resulted in a renewed interest in qualitative methods (Tellis, 1997a). Throughout the late 80’s and early 90’s Robert Yin and Robert Stake further developed the case study methodology and argued for its rigor as well as responded to critics that pointed to the inability to generalize such studies due to small sample size. According to Yin (1989), the goal of case studies are to establish parameters that can be applied to all research and as such single case studies are acceptable. Case studies remain popular in the social sciences field.
Ethics

Ethics is an important consideration in critical exploratory case studies (Merriam, 1998). The researcher must be aware of the consequences and implications of raising consciousness of participants as well as engaging in social action that impact the lives of others. Throughout the study the researcher must grapple with why and for whom the study is being conducted. Stake (2006) reminds us that “it is an ethical responsibility for us as case researchers to identify affiliations and ideological commitments that might influence our interpretations.” (P.87)

Researchers using a critical lens must also take ownership of their political agendas and avoid imposing their political beliefs on the population under study. In order to control for such issues researchers using a critical theoretical framework must engage in self-reflection and continually strive to produce quality work which entails rigor. Protective measures for the participant must be a constant preoccupation. The very goals of critical research require the researcher to exercise his or her own sensitivities in relation to those under study (Carspecken, 1996). As the researcher participates in the community under study he or she must carefully plan fieldwork activities so ethical concerns are addressed and dealt with effectively.

Observations and interviews are the most important facet of case study research (Stake, 2006). In research using a critical lens, fieldwork is important in formulating basic as well as complex understandings (Fetterman, 1998). According to Fetterman (1998) fieldwork entails observation of participants as well as interaction and immersion into the participants’ world.

Research Questions

The questions that guide case study research have to do with the how, whys, and in what ways human interaction and access to resources are guided by power. This study was guided by one broad question and one supporting question.
1. How do youth understand and experience the deportation of their Cape Verdean parent(s)?

   a. In what ways are the schooling experiences of youth impacted when their parent is ordered deported?

**Case Selection**

In case study methodology the cases to be selected are most often partially identified in advance (Stake, 2011). This type of identification characterizes the selection of case studies as purposeful or analytically selected (Johanson, 2003). In purposeful sampling the researcher is guided by the research questions and consciously chooses the participants for the study. For this study the cases were selected based on the quintain of parental deportation. The cases were selected based on their potential for providing information-rich, critical, and revelatory information about the specific phenomenon, parental deportation. Purposeful sampling requires that critical researchers provide solid rationale for the samples chosen (Carspecken, 1996). The link between sample and research questions must be clearly exposed.

The participants were purposefully selected through the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde. The Consulate of Cape Verde in Boston is notified by Immigration Enforcement and Removal Agency of all Cape Verdean nationals that are in deportation proceedings. Families that contacted the Consulate in an effort to receive support and information, were told about the study and offered the opportunity to participate. The Consulate provided me the names and telephone numbers of the families with youth between the ages of 13-21 and who had a parent with a deportation order and showed an interest in obtaining information about the study. I contacted the families that showed an interest in participating and I provided them with a detailed explanation of the study. If they met criteria and if they opted to participate, a meeting
was scheduled to present and obtain assent and consent. Families met participation criteria if parents and or guardians and the three youth agreed to participate. Also the crime that led to the order of deportation occurred ten years prior to the issuance of order of deportation; therefore, with parental incarceration occurring prior to the birth of children. I also targeted cases that had no other incarcerations that occurred after the birth of the children. These criteria resulted in the youth having a more clear recollection of the incidence of parental incarceration by Immigration Customs Enforcement and it also provided greater assurance that the youth had maximum access to the parent while growing up. These criteria also allowed me to better isolate cases with chronic histories of domestic violence or parental substance abuse. It was important that families targeted presented with typical histories, having the event with immigration being the most significant family event. All cases with a standing order of deportation prior to the birth of the children were targeted. Parent(s), who are currently primary caretakers also participated in the study. Parent(s), and primary caretakers were interviewed once to allow for data triangulation.

Three Community leaders, who worked within the community of Brockton for a period longer than ten years and served the Cape Verdean population of Brockton were included. I targeted community leaders, including Cape Verdean leaders, in the area of politics, school officials and members of the clergy. Community leaders were also recruited through the consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde. Community leaders that met the criteria were contacted and the first three to agree to be interviewed were included.

Given that this study was exploratory in nature and served as a platform for further research, only three cases were selected. Stake (2011) states that the benefits of a multi-case analysis may be limited if fewer than four cases are chosen and he also states that in some cases less than four cases are advisable. For this study, the reduced number of cases allowed for a more
in depth analysis of the data. A reduction of the number of cases allowed me to make explicit data that may be extreme, contradictory or unique. I was aware of the exploratory nature of this multiple case study and as a result I planned for the possibility of encountering data that seemed contradictory, extreme, or unique by limiting the number of cases to be selected and allowing more opportunities for canvassing the data. A large number of cases may result in small intricacies or minimally invasive data that is contradictory to be lost.

Stake (2011) suggests three prong criteria for selecting cases. First the case must be “relevant to the quintain,” second the cases must “provide diversity across contexts,” and third the cases must “provide good opportunities to learn about complexities across the contexts” (Stake, 2011, p. 23). Cases selected for inclusion in this study followed Stake’s (2011) three prong criteria.

**Data Collection**

Data were collected through interviews, field notes and observations as this are the most important form of data collection in case methodology (Stake, 2011). I collected data from a total of 15 interviews for this study. Three interviews were from each youth participant, three parent interviews and three community leader interviews. Most interviews took the form of conversations with the participants and as a result most often they were unstructured and or semi-structured. According to Madison (2005), interviewing questions can take six variations. Researchers may ask behavior or experience questions, opinion or value questions, feeling questions, knowledge questions, sensory questions, and background/demographic questions. Given the intricacies and challenges of the subject matter of this study, all six types of variations questions were used. Seidman (2006) suggests that interviews questions should be open-ended and that the goal is to “build upon and explore participants’ responses” (p.15). This type of
interviewing technique is described as phenomenologically based and it is particularly useful when studying phenomena such as the experiences of having a parent deported.

**Interviews**

Youth participants’ interviews were formatted into three series (Seidman, 2006), with six types of variation questions (Madison, 2005). The overall structure of the interviews is presented in Table 1. Each youth participant was interviewed three times and each interview had a specific focus and allowed for the collection of specific information. Structuring the purpose of the interview and placing questions that responded to the purpose of interview facilitated the data analysis.

Table 1.

*Structure of Youth Interviews*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>To reconstruct experience</td>
<td>Background, Demographics</td>
<td>How</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>contextualize background</td>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>To build upon the first.</td>
<td>Behavior, Experience</td>
<td>How/ when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Reflective</td>
<td>To produce meaning of experiences</td>
<td>Sensory, Feeling, Opinion, Value</td>
<td>Given that… Recalling what you said…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first interview focused on the life history of the youth participant (Appendix B) I asked the youth participants to reconstruct earlier experiences related to arrival in the United States, past experiences in school, and the general experiences with being an immigrant and or
an American citizen, child of an immigrant. During the first interview I avoided questions as to “why” and I focused on questions as to “how” to elicit past events and to allow the participant a narration rather than an interpretation of particular events. The first interview assisted me to contextualize and build the background of participants’ past experiences. The questions for the first interview elicited narratives of behaviors, knowledge of situations, background and demographic questions (Madison, 2005).

The second interview series accommodated previous experiences and events by adding details to the experiences presented in the first interview (Appendix C). A focus on concrete details and present day lived experiences assisted me with contextualization and the overall progression of relevant events. The purpose of the second interview was to build upon the first and to provide a foundation for the third interview. The questions related to opinion were avoided, and priority was given to questions that elicited details of an experience, such as sensory details, knowledge and feelings. The answers to the questions in the second interview assisted me in understanding how and why opinions were generated. The questions for the second interview were based on reconstruction of details, and were constructed around the “how” and “when.”

The third interview had as an objective the participant’s reflection on meaning of the experience and the impact of such experience on subsequent situations or events (Appendix D). The third interview was an invitation for the participant to reflect on their current situation and reconnect with past experiences and attempt to explain why certain experiences illicit certain feelings. The questions were in the form of “why”. In the third interview and for some of the questions I relied on providing a background. To provide a background I began questions with “given that you...”, “in recalling what you said...” etc. The third interview was grounded on the
first and second interviews. The questions for the third interview focused on depth, while the first and the second relied more on breath and scope of information.

The parent interviews were used for data triangulation. Parents were interviewed once and the questions revolved around clarification and validation of the answers participant youth provided. Parents were asked about their child’s background history, and their understanding of their child’s feelings and experiences regarding the deportation of a parent.

The community leaders’ interviews were used to gain a better understanding of the impact of deportation in the community where youth participants live. Community leaders’ interview questions revolved around their perception of the impact of deportation of youth in the community of Brockton.

All areas of discourse must be analyzed (i.e. content, sequence, breaks, etc). The understanding that language mediates reality and creates a subjective world (Mayan, 2009) requires that researchers pay particular attention to discourse. I understood that all parts of the interviews were important sources of information. The researcher must also consider what is not said, the reasons why certain things are left unsaid, and the function of what is said. I carefully considered possible reasons for information being left unsaid, the functions of what is said, and decided if follow-up questions were productive for the study and could ethically be posed to the participant. I understood this process as continuous and time consuming, and due to the importance of this process, I spaced the interviews as recommended by Seidman (2006). Each interview took place three days to a week apart and immediately following each interview I documented my observations related to the interview. My decisions and reflections regarding the questions, sequence of responses, breaks, posture of participants, etc. were documented in a research journal and were part of the data I collected as were my observations. My reflections
were written and recorded on audio because the process of audio recordings allow for uninterrupted string of thoughts while writing may be a more cumbersome process due to the imposition of conventionalities such as grammar, spelling, etc. Also, when the audio recordings were transcribed, it provided me with the opportunity for more reflection on the process of transcribing and the reading of such reflections. This information is included and discussed in Chapter Five.

**Field notes**

Field notes were collected in a systematic structured manner (Appendix E). The purpose of field notes is to gain insight about participants by watching their behavior in the natural setting. Field notes are thick descriptions of participant observations. It is important to look for patterns of behavior as well as document behaviors that seem out of place in order to reflect on meaning and function of the behavior. Since details were important, I wrote field notes within one hour of the observation or event documented. In order to accomplish this, I preplanned the time and place to reflect and complete the field notes following the event. Field notes included information regarding date, start and stop time, location as well as the occasion in which the field note was collected (appendix E). I described the event using thick descriptions of occurrences and at times I used audio recording to describe the event and I indicated this in the field notes form (appendix E) of the audio file information. In the second column of the form I attempted to interpret the event, pointing out the patterns of behavior, or oddities observed. The interpretation led to the development of themes and concepts. The musing column allowed me space to bracket and to reflect and contemplate on my own experiences of the event.
Participant and Community Observations

For the purpose of this research, participant community observations were intensive, with thick descriptions conducted. These participant community observations acknowledged that the participant lived in internal, external and hybrid communities that collectively act on individuals’ identity. For this research I identified the internal community as the immediate and the extended family. Members of the internal community were assumed to be aware of the pressures, challenges and gains made by its members. The external community refers to the community at large under which the internal community lives. These take the form of neighborhoods, friends, acquaintances and media in general. Hybrid communities refer to the communities that directly relate and incorporate members of internal community. These are communities such as the school or work. These three types of communities interact to develop in members of the internal community certain perceptions, feelings, and understandings. Thick descriptions helped me to increase awareness of the interrelationship and possible outcomes thereof. Carspecken (1996) explains that thick descriptions may bring to light important details which otherwise could be considered routine. The very goals of critical research require that researcher exercise his or her own sensitivities in relation to those under study (Carspecken, 1996). As such, it was crucial that I reflected on my own thinking and feelings during the collection of the field notes.

A plan for how to capture observations was devised prior to entering the field. For this research, observations are reported in pictures, graphs, diagrams, audio recordings and in written form. All observations were kept in a research journal and logged according to date. When planning for data collection, the researcher must plan for data collection methods that respond to
the questions posed. In this study data were collected through three participants’ interviews, field observations, and document analysis.

**Document Analysis**

Grand tour questions and specific questions (Fetterman, 1998) assist the researcher with gaining a broad picture of the participants world and it also helps in analyzing how the participants interpret and understand specific events. Grand tour questions for this study were answered through document analysis, newspaper articles, statistical analysis and when possible interviews with community leaders. The answers to grand tour questions provided me, the researcher, with a broad picture of deportation in America and in particular in the Cape Verdean community of Southeast New England. For this study, grand tour questions were presented in three domains. Domain A consists of the meaning and process of deportation; B is deportation in the United States; and C, the community of Brockton and deportation.

The goal of critical research is not to quantify but rather to understand and analyze the imposition of social structures in the lives of participants and move to social change. I recognized that often participants may be unaware of the social inequities, and or the oppressive characteristics of structural elements despite feeling a direct impact in their lives. The state of being unaware may prevent the articulation of a position in the form of scaled responses.

**Data Analysis**

Facilitating data analysis requires that the analysis be planned and organized prior to data collection. Stake (2011) reminds us that a good organization plan is crucial for case studies. This study relied on Seidman’s (2006) three series interviews and Madison’s (2005) five level of analysis. The structure of the interviews according to Seidman (2006) and the development of focused questions as guided by Madison (2005) assisted with the organization of data and
subsequent data analysis. Also, in qualitative research, data analysis and data collection are conducted concurrently. The three series interviews (Seidman, 2006) that build upon each other require ongoing analysis of data. A simultaneous approach to data collection and data analysis allows the researcher to capture all the intricacies of data. Data analysis in case studies involves multiple levels. Analysis entails the understanding of data through participant experiences, immediate socio-cultural surroundings and in the larger socio-political context. Fetterman (1998) states that in data analysis “choosing the right path requires discrimination, experience, attention to both detail and the larger context, and intuition” (p.92). Given such description, the researcher is just as much an instrument of analysis as are the data collected from the participants.

Table 2

*Grand Tour Domains*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain A</th>
<th>Domain B</th>
<th>Domain C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of deportation and process of deportation</td>
<td>Deportation in the United States of America</td>
<td>The community of Brockton and deportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. What is deportation?</td>
<td>1. What are the statistics for deportation in the United States?</td>
<td>1. How has Brockton, the largest Cape Verdean community in Massachusetts been impacted by deportation?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Is deportation lifelong or time specific?</td>
<td>2. How many Cape Verdeans have been deported from the United States?</td>
<td>2. What are the perceptions of Brockton Cape Verdean community leaders of about deportation and deportees?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What are the reasons for a person to be deported?</td>
<td>3. How are they received in Cape Verde post deportation?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Five Levels of Analysis

This case study employed Madison’s (2005) five levels of analysis. According to Madison (2005), critical theory is employed at five levels in studies that juxtapose a critical lens. These levels serve to,

1) articulate and identify hidden forces and ambiguities that operate beneath appearances,
2) guide judgments and evaluations emanating from our discontent,
3) demystify the ubiquity and magnitude of power,
4) provide insight and inspire acts of justice,
5) name and analyze what is intuitively felt. (p.13)

Madison’s (2005) five level of analysis allows for a more complete and organized analysis in critical exploratory case study. For this study these levels guided and provided direction through the entire process of analysis. Through this type of analysis the researcher is moved to action and self-reflection. Through self-reflection the researcher positions him or herself and attempts to identify his or her own contribution to the unequal structure under study. Through this self-reflection and the concern for social changes issues of ethics are raised.

Researchers must provide a rationale of the choice of data analysis. Atlas.ti, a computer software program recommended for qualitative analysis is appropriate for the analysis of the data for this study. Atlas.ti allows the researcher to customize a workbench for qualitative analysis and it permits the saving and manipulation of data. With this software, researchers develop codes and can visualize the analysis through graphs and from multiple perspectives. The processes of data analysis requires a zoom in and zoom out approach to facilitate a data analysis that is holistic as well as in parts, as recommended by case study methodology. Atlas.ti allows for a
constant comparison approach to data analysis which is suitable for case study methodology. Flexibility or the ability to move in and out within data while comparing, and adjusting questions as well as codes is required for cases studies.

**Data Coding**

The coding for case studies data are flexible (Stake, 2006). Codes constitute the researchers interpretations to lines, portions, or full page transcripts. Mayan (2009) states that codes should not be understood as “the process of assigning labels” (p.94) but rather a way of becoming familiar with the data and as a beginning process of organizing data (Mayan, 2009). Coding for this study began with marginalia in the transcripts. Marginalia may include ideas, impressions, and points of interest (Mayan, 2009). Codes were then collated into similar codes which were then turned into categories. Through an iterative process the researcher may create categories and subcategories, collapses categories and or deletes categories. Once the researcher is satisfied with the categories, themes are then created based on the categories.

**Rigor**

Qualitative methodology requires rigor. Mayan (2009) states that rigor refers to “demonstrating how and why (through methodology) the findings of a particular inquiry are worth paying attention to” (p.100). For this study rigor was maintained through the processes of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

**Credibility**

Credibility refers to the accurateness of the data. Strategies such as member checks and triangulation increased the credibility of the study (Mayan, 2009). For this study, parents were interviewed for the purpose of triangulation of information provided by the youth who were the primary participants. Following the transcriptions of the three interviews, I conducted member
checks with all participants. Youth were invited to agree or disagree with their transcribed interviews. All agreements and disagreements were reported. Parents were also presented with the interviews and were asked to comment then all comments were reported.

**Transferability**

Transferability refers to the ability of applying findings to multiple settings. Transferability is attained through thick descriptions of setting and participants (Mayan, 2009). For this study it was expected that the issues of immigration and deportability crossed several ethnic groups. The findings for Cape Verdean youth were discussed in terms of youth of diverse backgrounds and that have confronted the issues of immigration and deportation.

**Dependability and Confirmability**

Dependability and confirmability refer to the opportunity of others understanding and viewing every step of the process. Dependability is possible through audit trails. In audit trails a third-party conducts an audit of documentation that attests to every step and decisions in the research process. Confirmability is also accomplished through audit trails and it refers to the extent to which the research findings are logical (Mayan, 2009). For this study dependability and confirmability were achieved by the development of a research journal and the recording of data analysis through Atlas Ti, a computer software program that allowed all process and iterations of data analysis to be saved.

**Results and Findings Presentation**

The results of critical qualitative research are often presented in the form of a book or an article. Given that the aim of qualitative research with a critical lens is to increase awareness and instigate social change the writing is usually moving and provocative. The presentation of findings and the dissemination of results in a case study is a testimony to the data collected.
While the findings carry the voices of the participants, the results attempt to interpret experiences and highlight the answer to the question that was first posed. The process of writing the findings and results forces the researcher to clarify thoughts, highlight dissonance, challenge logic and question reason. For this study, participants’ voices were included as were my biases and impressions. It is also important to disclose political agendas. The case study with critical lens text raises the senses and instigates an emotional response in the reader. The critical ethnographer recognizes words as powerful tools in the transmission of knowledge and values the participants’ voice while recognizing the researcher as an intricate part of the research. In essence, cases studies require quality writing. For this study, the results were presented in a narrative form style of writing to allow for the voices of the participants to be heard. Each participant’s experiences were introduced in the form of a story. Whenever possible, participant’s words and thoughts were used to illustrate the story. The story is to illustrate ways in which the participant understands and negotiates the deportation of a parent and ways, if any, in which these negotiations impact their schooling experiences. Van Mannen (2006) states that it is through the “process of writing that the data of the research are gained as well as interpreted and that the fundamental nature of the research question is perceived.”( p.715) I also exposed my experiences as an immigrant to the United States and my experiences as a student in the American school system, a member of the Cape Verdean community and a coordinator of the social division in the area of deportation for the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde in Boston.

Current climate is inauspicious for critical qualitative studies. Regrettably the drive for data driven results leaves no room for research methods that aim to uncover injustices. The insistence with standardization and normalization disregards the voice of the other while
upholding ideologies related to *pulling ourselves by our boot straps*. It is an attempt at disregarding the individual while glorifying the socio-economic system and maintaining the status quo.

Critics of qualitative methods consider the researcher and sampling biases as reproachful. Mayan (2009) responds by stating that “absolute objectivity is impossible and even undesirable because of the social nature and human purposes of research” (p.19). Sampling biases assists the researcher in understanding intersections between race and gender or race and class.

Developing a case study using a critical lens study may be emotionally exhausting for many researchers. The ability to maintain a system of support and engage in collaborative discussions is important. The researcher must also be reflective and understand the importance to exercise self-care.

Deportation causes forceful family separation which is a consequence of policies that are developed and implemented in a hegemonic environment. It is within this context that questions related to human rights, social responsibilities, and community welfare should be undertaken. Furthermore, I recognized that the consequence of deportation directly impacts those without a voice, children and youth, and those considered alien to United States of America. In studying and understanding the impact of deportation, it is crucial that we understand the culture of those who are directly implicated through participation and observation. It is also important to consider this issue from a critical perspective by asking the question: who benefits and how?

**Reflecting on the Process**

Qualitative research with a critical theoretical lens is research with a goal and a political agenda. As I became acquainted with case study research with a critical lens, I realized its vulnerability as well as its possibilities. This type of research places the participant in the center
of the research project and the researcher becomes a collaborator in the process of social change. The researcher must be reflective and must also have the willingness to be open in the discussion of his or her values.

The intent to transform social context through action results in ethical concerns. One such concern is the raising of consciousness of power differentials and social inequities in the participants. This consciousness may impact their lives and emotional well-being. The way we understand our realities allows for feelings of stability and safety. To interfere with such understandings may result in participants feeling unsafe and socially vulnerable. Through my studies I came to realize that strategic action results in community empowerment.

Qualitative research requires researchers that are highly reflective, intuitive, and connected to the world around them. Characteristics such as organization, attention to detail, and writing ability are valuable and added to the process of research.
Chapter Four

Introduction

This study employed exploratory case study methodology (Stake, 2006) framed within critical theory (Carspeken, 1996). Exploratory case study methodology is well suited for this study because there have been no research studies of Cape Verdean children and youth undergoing parental deportation and the impact of such event on youth schooling experiences. As the name suggests, an exploratory case study focuses on a phenomenon that is understudied and requires exploration (Yin, 2009). A critical theoretical framework around case study methodology was used because the issue studied is cross-cultural and subordinates a particular group to oppressive conditions such as forced family separation. Forced family separation is traumatic and the policies that allow for such separation are viewed as oppressive. Using a critical lens, this work uncovers forms of domination and power within social practices in specific cultural contexts.

Chapter Four is divided in two sections. A brief introduction of the chapter’s organization is presented along with descriptions of the purpose for each part. Also, the introduction describes the methodology and the overall reasons for the use of such methodology.

Following a chapter introduction, section I is presented. Section I of Chapter Four presents the findings of interviews through the participants’ voice, given that the study is exploratory and the focus is on participants’ experiences. Prior to presenting the data, each
participant is introduced and the context under which the first meeting took place is described. In the first meeting I collected history and background information and attempted to build rapport.

In an effort to provide transparency while acknowledging the importance of my background, I uncover and weave some of my experiences, feelings and cultural observations throughout the third part of this chapter. I am Cape Verdean born and a resident alien of United States. I have resided in the United States for 29 years and I am currently a citizen of United States. Following introductory descriptions of the participants, themes are introduced. Excerpts of participant’s first, second and third interviews are presented to support each theme generated. Nonverbal behaviors that represented or supported the theme are also incorporated.

Finally, the results of parent interviews are presented in narrative form at the end of each youth participant finding. Parents’ observations, descriptions of events as well as historical and background information served to triangulate the data provided by the participants. Parents were asked to elaborate on specific events the youth described. Parents were also asked to provide their own understanding of how the deportation impacted youth and youth schooling experiences. These interviews are important and provide the opportunity to further analyze participants’ overall understanding of history and events.

In section II, the findings of grand tour questions are presented and are intended to generate a better understanding of the impact of deportation in participants’ lives in all critical aspects. The grand tour section is partitioned in three domains. The domains (A, B, C) present the meaning and process of deportation followed by perceptions of deportation in America and impact of deportation in the community of Brockton, Massachusetts. The section begins with a table, introducing the domains and themes found in each domain.
Section I: Youth Participant Interviews

In section I, I present the findings of youth participants’ interviews. Three interviews were conducted with each participant youth. Youth were 14, 20 and 21 years of age. I found that the participants began in a very responsive way to answer specific questions about the sequence of events but quickly they began weaving through describing behaviors, analyzing experiences, providing sensory information, and forming opinions. One example of this was the question “what is your nationality?” Despite being asked in the first interview, it most often evoked questions belonging to the second (experience) or third interviews (feeling, opinion). Information from all three interviews was juxtaposed and used to validate information from the other interviews. Given the exploratory nature of this study, I choose consciously to focus on the participants’ voice. I present the themes that resulted from the reiterative analysis process through the participants’ voice. This is not only to provide my reader the opportunity to make a judgment as to the accuracy of the theme but also to validate the voice of my participants and to acknowledge the importance of their experiences.

Finally, section I also describes the interviews with parents or guardians. At the end of the presentation of findings of each participant youth, a narrative of parents’ interview is offered. These interviews allowed me to triangulate the data, in terms of history, and behavioral observations by parents and or guardians which were significant in understanding and or validating the data collected with youth.

The data collected through the interviews with the parents are described in a narrative form. I provide this data to the reader as a backdrop to the event described by the youth. Each youth is introduced under a pseudonym. Physical descriptions of youth, and contextual descriptions of the first meeting are also offered. These descriptions allow me to offer the reader
the opportunity to experience the participants up close. Descriptive items that could potentially reveal the identity of participants were consciously left out or slightly modified to protect participants. This is one attempt to place a human face to the event of parental deportation.

**Sara**

There was a lot of not understanding and a lot of confusion…not knowing what was going to happen…a lot to take in at such a young age. (Sara, first interview).

Sara is 20 years old and is currently in college. She graduated from a public high school located in Brockton. However, she began her educational career in a private school. After the deportation of her father it was financially impossible to remain at the same school. Sara does not have siblings and as a child she lived with her mother and father in a single family home. She was always very involved in community affairs and church functions. This involvement abruptly came to an end after her father’s deportation. She avoided such functions in an effort to avoid comments and questions by friends and relatives. Her father’s involvement with Immigration and Naturalization Services began while she was in high school. Her father was deported when she was 16 years old. Her memories of visiting her father while incarcerated by Immigration Customs Enforcement are vivid. She talks about these times with reserved anger. The anger is physically invisible. There is no arched back, or hands flying up in the air, or corner of the mouth turned downward. But what she says is clear and unapologetic and her questions about popular American ideology are straightforward. She questions a country that is presented as a country of immigrants but mistreats immigrants by considering them second class to others. While her voice remains mostly monotone, her inflections were filled with indignation when speaking about seeing her father behind glass, or hearing of not being able to provide him with a suitcase prior to embarking. Sara adjusts and readjusts her identity as an American to what is comfortable and
acceptable to her. When speaking about her father’s deportation she clearly questions her identity as an American, appearing to want to distance herself with the act committed. However, when describing her trip to Cape Verde, she quickly alludes to her identity as an American given her inability to identify with the culture, language or place, which is Cape Verde.

She speaks of her experiences in school by describing herself as a focused, good student. She acknowledges that the work she had in school, allowed her to at times distance herself from the trauma that was occurring at home. In her reflections and feelings of school, her feelings of isolation and disconnection become apparent. She does not speak of having a sense of belonging to her school but rather she speaks of delving into the school work as a mode of surviving. She recalls that some parts of school were unpleasant, such as discussions in social studies class. At times these discussions reminded her of what was happening at home and created contradictions between how she was to feel as an American student in an American school versus what was happening at home. At the end of my interview with Sara, I gained a sense that despite school not being pleasant or comfortable it was the best available escape from what was happening at home.

Meeting Sara

I knocked at the door of the single family home with apprehension, wondering if I had the correct street number. I recalled that when I asked for the address, the voice was child-like, with a soft, welcoming quality. The English was perfect, which prompted me to again ask if this was Sara, the daughter of the lady that called me asking to participate in the study. On the phone, I quickly continued to collect information about address and possible meeting times. Prior to hanging up, and excited about the find, I made sure of the age of the person on the other side of the phone. The voice provided no clue. Sara said, “I am twenty years old.” I felt relieved,
confirmed the date and time, without repeating the address. Now standing in front of the door, I regretted not restating the information. I knocked again and stepped down from the front steps, in preparation to apologize for the mistake. The door opened. A young female, with a small frame opened the door and greeted me with a smile. Sara’s shoulder length hair with loosely hanging curls added to the white facial features and joined to the cinnamon toned skin were, for me, sources of important data. The composition of this picture, resulted in the certainty of the person being Cape Verdean. The small straight nose with a gentle tip, the thin lower lip supporting an even thinner upper lip, combined with the soft curved jaw bone and the almond eyes provided witness of the presence of white ancestry. The deep sweet tone of brown restated the mix and in my mind offered evidenced of Cape Verdeaness. For me Sara’s phenotype was of a Cape Verdean female. I was consciously relieved after seeing her. I can intellectually argue the stereotypical nature of such an approach, but this knowledge does not immediately prevent me from making such judgments. Once I viewed and judged what I was seeing, I gained a sense of confidence, comfort and fellowship. After the interview, as I reflected and jotted notes on my observations, I thought about my own identification needs. I realized that my needs for phenotype data are probably no different than the rest of the world. For a while, I effectively tried really hard to reason my needs. “It could potentially lead me to be prejudiced against others that look different from me in looking for my own. No, It is just that there are similarities, generalizations that provide comfort,” I thought. How different are these feelings from someone that follows up with feelings of malice or racial stereotypes towards others that look different? Maybe this was step two in the process. Every reason possible that allows me to make such identifications in search for comfort, confidence and fellowship had a flip side that clearly led towards an uncomfortable path.
Sara lead me to the living room, were we sat in a comfortable maroon sofa. I placed the recording device on the coffee table, hoping that it would capture her soft, low volume voice. I was relieved that she also seemed comfortable with me as evidenced by her smile and quick friendly introduction. The living room, adjacent to a dining room and a kitchen were immaculate. As she sat on the sofa, I noticed behind her and slightly above her head hung a picture of a man and a woman. As I glanced, I asked if those were her parents. She quickly confirmed and added that the picture was taken few years back and prior to him being deported. The family pictures around the living room provided witness of how the family is bonded. Poses, Sunday attire and smiles carefully framed in wood were symmetrically displayed all around walls, coffee and side tables. Flowers and plants adorned the corners of the living room. It was apparent that the intention was to create a comfortable and welcoming living space for family and friends. I thanked Sara for meeting with me and presented the support letter from the Consulate. I began explaining the consent. She quickly stopped me and told me that she had read the one her mother showed her. She placed the form on the table, reached for my pen and signed on the line. I asked her if she had any questions and reiterated that a pseudonym would be used and all protections would be used to keep her identity safe. She responded “I was born here, they can’t touch me!” I smiled along with her while I wondered what my next comment should be. Certain of the significance of her words, I continued and hoped to have the opportunity to come back to her observation later. In the first interview Sara provided answers to background questions, which were infused with opinions and quick observations. The second interview, which happened the beginning of the following week also began with background information but quickly developed into bits and pieces about extended family and their connection to the community. In the second interview Sara spoke of being Cape Verdean and being a part of the community. She alluded to
the festivities particular to the community and unveiled a sense of disconnection from her American identity and at the same time isolation from the Cabo Verdean community which were related to her father’s deportation. In the third interview, Sara spoke of feelings of fear and uncertainty related to her and her family’s future because of her father’s deportation. She expressed guilt and a deep sense of the sudden changes that occurred as soon as her father was ordered deported. When asked specifically about her feelings about the process she was witnessing, Sara showed and expressed anger, while she described contradictions in the action of those responsible, which she labeled as “they.”

**Isolation and disconnect**

Careful not to present my expected options, I asked Sara what she considered herself to be. After a long pause she answered,

That is a question that I have asked myself often...but I feel that I am both...they are both part of who I am ...I am Cape Verdean American.

In her pause and response, I noted that her identification took time and lacked automaticity. She recognized her place of birth, USA, but did not immediately identify herself as an American. She acknowledged her parent’s country of birth, Cape Verde, but also did not automatically take that to be her own. This presented as a cultural contradiction. In Cape Verde and within Cape Verdean communities one recognizes country of birth as the only and primary affiliation. Cape Verdeans do not present parental country of birth when responding “what are you.” I recalled that when I arrived in the United States at the age of 17, I was often puzzled by colleagues who presented two or more backgrounds when expressing who they were, “I am half Italian, and half German.” I often silently thought “no, you are born here, you are American. Where your parents were born is their own thing.” According to these rules I could have
introduced myself to them as Portuguese since my grandparents are Portuguese. But for me this was out of the question. It represents who my grandparents are not who I am. Sara stated “I have asked myself often...” noting the time it took to sort this issue. This was not something that she asked once, thought about, accepted her response and moved on. Her response noted time, effort and a struggle for the response. I pressed on to better understand when and how this struggle began. At one point Sara stated,

yeah ....I mean I’ ve been to CV 4 or 5 times and everytime I go it is hard. I still have a hard time connecting with CV...when I was younger I didn’t like to go but I didn’t want to come back, and then when I ‘d come back I didn’t want to go back, every time I would go, I would come back without my father... so I made that kind of connection with the place....I still can’t see it as somewhere I could live....

I asked her how she felt about the place the first time she walked off the plane at 10 years of age and she answered,

ahhh....I had heard a lot of stories but when I got there it was a culture shock...as soon as I walked off the plane and walk out there... I never felt so American in my life....When you get there if you are from America ...you are an American, no matter your parents and grandparents being CV you are an American...it was a culture shock when you see the schools and the hospitals....it is all the small things...the way the streets are....everything... it is a completely new world....Everything was a complete culture shock...I am Cape Verdean but I did not know all this...
I noted her last sentence “I am Cape Verdean but did not know all of this!” Despite
acknowledging feeling as an American while in Cabo Verdean soil, she now, while in
conversation with me, again acknowledged her Cape Verdean identity in conversation.

Feeling the need to better understand such a transition reminded her that the possibility of
her having to live in Cape Verde was real. And without turning into a question and I waited for a
response or comment. Sara followed with,

there was no way I could survive there...like the schools....there is no way...the
schools were completely different...I don’t know Portuguese and that is all they
have in schools...how would I go to schools...their customs ...I would never been
able to fit in there...there is no way...the schools are completely different...

I wanted to understand the disconnection with the American identity. I waited until the
third interview and I asked her specifically about her feelings of identifying as an American,
while reminding her of some of her statements of not feeling American. Sara explained that:

yeahhhhh.....I questioned this whole identity about what that means [to be an
American]...there is this whole part that I am supposed to be so proud of but they
pull families apart because of these rules....it made me questioned about what it
means to be an American...what it means to be a part of this society that pulls
families apart....and who really is an American? She continued, Ever since I was
younger I would chuckle a bit. America is....the foundation of America is
immigrants....we didn’t just pop up...we all came from somewhere else.. and that
fact has been forgotten...the way they look at it...it was immigration but now its
just not the same...If you were not born in America you do not have the right to be
there...that is just something I think about...
I noted her comments about “families being pulled apart” and I asked directly if the events with her father allowed for a disconnection with her American identity. Sara answered,

Definitely. I never thought about the way America works until what happen....it might have come up eventually...but it is different when you are 10 in contrast to when you are 16/17 and you think about it and talk about stuff in social studies class...it presents a completely different perspective when you are older in terms of being open...I think I ended up growing really fast because of what happened so my perspective was probably a really bit more mature than a 10 year old.

Sara also expressed feelings of isolation from her family and the Cape Verdean community. She acknowledged that her father and mother were well known in the community. She added,

yeahh...when you used to go to places people would ask .... how is your father? when is he coming back? do you miss him? which is something I always heard....I didn’t want to go places anymore...

Sara also spoke about her relationship with her mother and her extended family and feeling isolated in school. She said,

It was hard [relationship with mother]...because each time she had to work it out...I had no experience with that, she [mother] was freaking out because she had no experience with that, so we [mother and Sara] were constantly trying to support each other at the same time she was tired and stressed out...I realized how stressed out she was...I took a step back and tried to let her do what she was doing...I kept on my school work. I tried to dive into work... and they did not know (school personnel)...they had no idea. I think my mother told the financial
aid office...just because of the payments but besides that we never told anybody. Actually, I kept it quiet, it was like...I used that to dive into work and distract myself my grades did pretty well. Nobody knew. I just didn’t feel like telling anyone, because nobody would understand anyways. No one knew of that....or had experience with that so I just worked it out.

Sara noted that she felt her family members did not understand what was going on and could not help,

I relied on my mom....because you know I didn’t really know what was happening....what was going on our family members were trying to help but they didn’t know how to, they didn’t understand it.....so we [mother and Sara] got really close...so it was really hard to have holidays, prom, graduating middle school without him being here..... So it was really hard....but my mom really stepped up...she was supportive...

Finally about school personnel and extended family she added,

I just felt like they did not know how to deal with it....how to see the situation how to help or support me...they didn’t understand...and I just didn’t want to talk about it because they didn’t know what to say...

Sara punctuated this interview with the following statement,

Yeah, basically...I felt like I didn’t have anybody that I could relate to and talk about it...it was pretty much me and mom in this situation....I didn’t have anybody to help me understand it better...and mom was busy working...she got a second job...she worked two jobs to be able to make ends meet...pay the immigration
lawyer....it would have been nice to connect with somebody going through it also but at the same time I wouldn’t want for someone else to go through it.

**Fear and Uncertainty**

Fear and uncertainty generated feelings of anxiety and powerlessness. Sara spoke of not knowing the exact reasons why her father was deported. She was clear about her mother and father being born in Cape Verde. However prior to engaging with Immigration and customs she had never thought about these details as significant. Sara also knew that her parents migrated to the United States in the 1980’s. When asked specifically about her knowledge of reasons for the order of deportation, she recalled that:

My parents had to set up a meeting...they had to go to...ha...the Immigration Office to go talk about something...and that day they took him into custody. So when I came home I had to go to my cousins house, and I did not know why... and my mother had to go pick me up. I overheard my mother talking...I didn’t know what it meant...I had never dealt with that...I never heard anything like immigration deporting people. For me it was just another appointment they had with another company or something. I didn’t know much about it...my mom ended up seating down with me and telling me after he was in custody...they put him into prison....for 2 months before being deported....so my mom explained to me what was going to happen....it was really.....I was 10 years old....to couldn’t see him I talked to him on the phone...I went to see him once and talk to him through a glass...and that was really hard....”

As a young adult, Sara still admitted to being unclear about the reason that led to her father’s deportation. As the interview continued it became clear that the specific reasons were
not important to her. For Sara her life was stable, with loving parents and all her needs were being met prior to the disruption caused by the deportation. Furthermore, she knew her father to be a good person, involved in their church, and with many friends. It was also clear that she loved her father and his presence in the house was crucial. Once her father was placed in custody, Sara felt uncertain about the future.

It was a lot of not understanding and a lot of confusion...not knowing what was going to happen...a lot to take in at such a young age....I didn’t understand deportation...I didn’t understand what was going on in the house....there was no income...there was no parent in the house. That was a lot to take in.....

She explained how life changed,

All of a sudden there was a lot going on. There was less money coming in because we lost papa’s income and so my aunt and her kids moved in....my mom had to pay everything on her own, utilities and I was in dance too, she had to figure out how to pay that too...catholic school is expensive....all the other bills and a lawyer...because as soon as they took him into custody they had to get a lawyer. There was less money....I had to grow up really fast....as soon as they took him into custody she got a lawyer and she had to figure out what do to next...

I specifically asked Sara about her fears and anxieties. I posed the question, with the clear expectation that Sara would speak about her sense of loss and financial insecurities. Here is the first thing Sara said about what her primary and most violent fears were at 10 years of age and following her father’s incarceration and order of deportation...
I worried about how he was doing there [jail]...whether or not he was eating or healthy ...I worried if he was eating.....he lost a lot of weight and were they treating him well enough?...”

Sara suggested feeling powerless, and attempting to reclaim power by making changes...

I just wondered what was going to happen to us...and what I could do to help...I wondered if I could do something to help...I remember quitting dance..that was one way I could help...I saved some money...that was 60 dollars a month..I wanted to go to public school because I knew she could not afford two more years of private school.....But they ended up helping us out...so I could finish private school...

She spoke of feelings of anxiety,

I think that people don’t realize how much struggle it families go through...there was so much money that wasn’t there and we had to come with...for lawyers, bills....they don’t see it...it is like they just have to get deported..there are no grey areas... it is black and white...there is so much about the person they are not aware of....

She summarized the reason for her anxieties,

It was the combination of all the school work and thinking about the deportation...just a lot of anxiety...it was piling up...

**Guilt and Anger**

The objectives of the third interview allowed Sara and I to further explore her feelings and experiences as well as her overall understanding of the concept of her situation. Her
statement, when asked about confidentiality and preference of pseudonym was a conversation that I felt was well suited to begin the third interview.

During the first interview and after asking Sara about pseudonym preference, she indicated that she is a US citizen and therefore there is nothing “they” can do to her. I was curious about who she understood to be “they” and I questioned her use of birthplace to insulate her from any consequences while at the same time questioning her identity as an American. These two ideas seemed dichotomous. As a witness of this tension, I wondered if she felt her father’s background made him vulnerable and if there was any guilt feelings for being an American while the father is not a citizen. And to what extent as her involvement with immigration enforcement, through her father’s case compelled her to question her identity? When asked directly how this event impacted her identity as an American it became evident that her willingness to connect and name this identity was connected to a deep seeded anger of the actions taken by the authorities and directed towards her father. Sara said,

yeahhhhhh.....I questioned this whole identity about what that means [to be an American]...there is this whole part that I am supposed to be so proud of but they pull families apart because of these rules....it made me questioned about what it means to be an American...what it means to be a part of this society that pulls families apart.... and who really is an American?

When asked about her understanding of the reasons that lead to the deportation, Sara admitted knowing little and asking nothing about it, but she questioned the time that it took for immigration enforcement to bring about the charge.
Right...that was a question I had...why did they wait so long to bring it up ....to decide that that was a problem...I remember thinking why did they wait so long to deport him?...

Guilt was also evident when she expressed her inability to help or prevent the situation from happening despite being an American citizen.

I felt completely powerless...I felt that there is nothing I could do...I felt really helpless... even though I am an American citizen there wasn’t a darn thing I could do to help....I felt really helpless...

It was also apparent that Sara is sensitive to what she sees as contradictions in American society. She spoke about pride and the actions of pulling families apart. She noted America’s description as a country of immigrants and at the same time the mistreatment of immigrants. At the end of our meetings I asked her as an American citizen, who witnessed the deportation of her father, if she had the opportunity what would she tell congress about this process? Sara responded,

I would tell them that there needs to be more investigation done in between custody and deportation....there needs to be a way to step back and think about what is going on with this person’s family...if this person is guilt of something ...OK that is more reasonable but if someone missed a meeting?? You should...that should be considered....oh you missed a meeting with us 10 years ago and we are shipping you off....I would look into them a little bit, what they have been up to...I would look into their family....in the case of my father...He has been working for the same company for 20 years....he is a taxpayer....he is doing everything he is supposed to....it is not like he is a criminal....I think there needs to
be an investigation phase into it....I like to think that that would be what I would do....”

Sarah’s mother’s narrative

Sara’s mom is proud of all that Sara has accomplished. Sara is completing her second year of college. She explained that she knew Sara would be willing to participate because Sara has a kind nature and always wants to help others. The mother also offered that Sara is her only daughter and they are close. She tried to protect Sara from all that was happening with her father’s involvement with immigration. She admitted that at times it was very difficult, given the changes in the home. Prior to the deportation of her father the family lived together in a single family home, which they own, and Sara for the most part lived a good life. She attended a private school until 8th grade. She was involved in church as well as in extracurricular activities. However things became more difficult with the loss of the father’s income. She recalls that Sara stopped wanting to go to dance class. She suspects that Sara was painfully aware of the cost and chose to give up because of the expense. Sara simply said that she was no longer interested in dancing. The mother recalled that when the father was first apprehended by immigration it was extremely difficult for her to make sense of the events and or enter into dialogue with Sara. Sara was only 10 and often the mother hoped that Sara did not fully understand what was going on, because she wanted to hold on to the hope that everything would be fine at the end. However she recalls that one day, while at work, she received a call from Sara. Sara was crying and feeling very overwhelmed about the lack of answers. Sara demanded to know if the father was really leaving and if he would ever come back. With tears in her eyes, the mother admitted that she did not know what to say because she had no answers and did not know what was happening. The mother was often busy with attorneys, court appearances, jail visits and trying to make ends
meet. The relatives had no answers and for the most part did not know how to address the situation. Her sister, Sara’s aunt moved in for a while to help with the bills. During this period the house became chaotic but Sara seemed to deal with it fine. She was concerned when Sara enrolled in a public high school. She noticed that Sara did not make a lot of friends but remained faithful to the work and as a result her grades were maintained.

When asked about her perception regarding how Sara’s schooling experiences were impacted, the mother said that for the most part she does not feel that Sara’s schooling experiences were impacted. Socially, Sara might have become quieter and more of a loner. However academically she did not see a difference. The mother punctuated by saying that on the other hand she does not see Sara as an average child. The mother described Sara as intelligent who always presented as more mature than her peers. She noticed early on that Sara is independent, and more of a problem solver and these characteristics have carried her through her schooling experiences. Sara has never been a discipline problem at school or at home. When Sara visited Cape Verde, she went through an adjustment period particularly because of the language. Sara understands Krioulo but relies on English and appears more comfortable with English. The relationship between Sara and her father is and has always been close. Despite having discussed very little with Sara about the events that lead to the deportation of her father, the mother assumes that the separation has had an impact. She describes the impact as social. She feels that Sara may have lost trust in people or in the system as general. When asked why she feels Sara has lost trust on the system and in people, the mother states that she has heard Sara question some of the ways people act or the way things are done. According to the mother this is a horrible thing for children to go through.
Keenan

I just remember coming to the door… and it was like four officers trying to… pulling him to the stairs and he was just holding on to the wall… and then he just looked at me and then he was like… just go to the wall… and then they was like… putting him on handcuffs and they asked him to put on a t-shirt and I remember that they were talking to my stepmom at the time and they was telling her something about he was going to Boston for immigration… something to do with his paperwork… and he’d have a court date… and I just went to bed after that… went to sleep, got up and went to school… (Keenan, first interview)

Keenan is 21 years and for the most part lives with his mother. He currently shares a room with a much younger brother. Keenan is tall and attractive. His hair is straight and soft but Keenan has managed to grow it out and keeps in neat narrow rope like strands, forming dreadlocks. Being Cape Verdean I know that this appearance is not well liked by traditional Cape Verdeans because it hides some of the white features present in Cape Verdean children, while substantially underlining black features. He is slim and tall. I could not help but to notice that he could be easily identified as African American. His complexion is light. And when taken separately from his overall appearance, his features resemble those of a white person.

Keenan speaks with authority. His voice projects and his statements are provided with a “matter a fact” quality. While speaking, his hands accompany his statements, sometimes fisted, other times open with palms in full view. The extremities of his fingers were often in contact with the table surface to illustrate the concreteness of what he was saying. Other times, the hands while open swayed from left to right to better articulate indignation. He spoke freely but slow.

Transcriptions were difficult and required me to listen attentively, several times passing through
the same passages. His use of double negatives, distinctive verb tenses, was a reminder of his youth. His accent was clearly American, providing no indication of him being bilingual.

Meeting with Keenan

Second time should be a charm. But instead, once again, I sat waiting for Keenan. This was my second attempt at meeting him. He choose the times and dates but after knocking several times I realized that, once more he would not be there. I returned to my car somewhat frustrated. I took my agenda and after writing cancelled, I reached for the research journal. Prior to opening I glanced at the rearview mirror and at the end of the long street of double deckers, I saw Keenan walking towards the house. I confirmed by looking back through my back window. He walked looking at his cell phone. The slender figure, with dreads pulled back left little doubt. I confirmed that it was Keenan when he quickly looked up and then back down to the phone. I exited the car and waited a few seconds for him to get closer. When he got closer he looked up and saw me. There was no expression. While approaching the car, he said that he had tried to call me because his probation officer had called early in the morning and he had to go meet him. I barely heard the explanation, eager to ask if we can meet. He opened the door of the house and invited me in. I passed through the living room to reach the dining room table. Without asking for permission I dropped my computer bag, sat down and began to look for the recording device. There were many pictures on the wall. None of them were Keenan. Keenan went straight into a bedroom and before I had the chance of taking my notebook, he reappeared. He apologized for not being there and again began explaining about his commitments in the morning. I was interested in knowing more about his affairs with the probation officer, but I kept running through my mind the consent documents, and the explanations that I had given him on the phone. As soon as I found a chance I pulled the yellow manila folder from the research journal and went
through the consents and explanations. He seemed attentive but at the end when provided with the opportunity he did not ask for any explanations and simple stated “yeahhh, ok.” Again I reached for the recording device and said that I would be recording in order to transcribe. I asked him if he had a preference for a pseudonym. He smiled and said “it doesn’t really matter.” I began collecting the history.

**Isolation and Disconnect**

In our first meeting Keenan spoke of feeling disconnected from United States and isolated from his family. His statements about not feeling American were clear and provided without hesitation. The dialogue that follows was collected in the first interview, and it propelled our conversation about his feelings of being an American.

LR- you are a child of Cape Verdeans immigrants, right? you are raised in the culture? born in America, raised in America. What are you?

K- I am Cape Verdean (chuckle)

LR- you are Cape Verdean?

K- yeah

LR-even though, you are born in America that is not the identity you take on?

K- no.

LR- why not?

K- this is not the country that has my back!

It was clear that by the way this conversation developed and the certainty with which Keenan spoke of his feelings that I would not be able to keep to background information. I distinctly felt that he wanted me to ask why, to give him a space to attack America by once more providing him with the opportunity to express his feelings about America. I first offered
validation that I heard what he had said, then I offered the opportunity for him to elaborate by looking for a connection between what he had witnessed with his father and his feelings about America...

LR- So you don’t feel American. How did your father’s encounter with INS when you were 13 impacted you thinking that ...?

K- I just seen how they move..they literally didn’t ask him like... hey you are here to...they didn’t come in....they could have been civilized....he wasn’t aggressive. I mean he did have his shirt off...but you come into the house at 4 o’clock ..he is sleeping...that is how he sleeps...he got his shirt off, he is in his clothes that ....he don’t have his shoes on, he don’t even got his socks on, then he opens the door and you like is your name XXX? You asked me who I am ..yeah that is my name you know am I am saying...step in the hallway...what for?.. step in the hallway and I got four guys jumping on me....you know what I am saying...regardless if you are saying you are cops or not....why the hell are you jumping on me...I didn’t do nothing...I just remember thinking in my head..he didn’t do nothing....why are there 4 of you guys jumping on him...not one of you saying anything but jabbing him and bringing him to the floor...that is what your job is?....like and then like he is not even a criminal...you are coming to pick him up because supposedly he doesn’t have citizenship...so you are beating up a guy because he does not have citizenship so you beating up someone...you supposedly saying that someone that doesn’t belong to your country and you beating him up...so you are torture somebody else’s citizen right...would America stand for that? An American born citizen in any other country? it would never happened...
LR- did that incident impacted the way you think of yourself as an American

K- yeah...I kind of realized that there is white America and a colored America...there is a difference...

LR- and the difference is not only in the color?

K- nah...it is where you come from and where your parents come from...

At times these statements felt retaliatory and out of anger. His feelings of isolation from his family were present in a more veiled manner. He nonchalantly spoke of moving back and forth between homes, and in how he had little information about his parents or the reasons for the move. He talked of having many friends, while growing up in the Cape Verdean community. He also made statements about the ways he and his friends would get in trouble in school or neighborhood. When asked about his experiences about visiting Cape Verde he answered,

K- Yeah I could live there...

LR- you could live there?

K- Yeah...I am not really that attached to US...I can leave it anytime...

LR- you are not that attached to the United States? It is your country.

K-nah...ahhhh...not my country...

**Fear and Uncertainty**

Despite the uncertainty and fear about not having the information being clear throughout his responses, the ambiguity of appearing to need help or being afraid was also clear. I wondered if his hesitation in openly identifying the vulnerabilities (fear and uncertainty) was for him directly related to acknowledging the magnitude of power of the agency in control (Immigration Customs Enforcement).
I didn’t have no information.... they didn’t tell me nothing....
I mean not having a clue.... just waiting to know...to figure out what is going... like...that was the worst...cause now just like...waiting to see where my life is going...I am going to be able to relax in my city in (name) and stay with my friends or is he going to get deported and I got figure out where the fuck I am going? So it is like that.... she knew about as little as I did... she used to call like…I remember she used to call my father’s mother...my grandmother on my father’s side...and asked him....like they all didn’t know...They used to go to court and figure out little by little...and they used to go to court and just listen.

Guilt and Anger

His anger was felt in the descriptions of the events he offered. He did not speak of being angry but he spoke in anger. He questioned the events, the agency, the ideologies, and the logic of the events.

Like they just kind snatched him up...oh immigration type....you are the one arresting him so you must know why you are arresting for....you obviously know...when you waking his family at 4 in the morning...what the hell is going on....just not knowing was like the biggest problem...

Keenan’s mother’s narrative

Keenan’s mother emphatically stated that Keenan was not impacted in any way by the father’s deportation clearly punctuating that he is not a good father anyway. She acknowledged that Keenan was living with the father for most of his life but when the father was arrested by immigration, Keenan was forced to move to another state to live with her. At no time she spoke of the move as a disruption in his life. According to her, he enjoyed being with her and attending
the new high school. The mother describes Keenan as very intelligent. She explains that even though he would often skip school, be suspended for fighting, and not complete classwork or homework as soon as he was presented with a test he always did well. Often teachers were surprised by his performance. She would often point out to him how much further he could go if he did what he was supposed to do in school. He was able to graduate high school, but really never took it serious. At home, Keenan could be difficult. He often entered into confrontations with her. She said that he never liked adults or adult authority and quickly becomes belligerent when asked to comply or follow directions. His high school years were difficult because he would often choose the worst crowd to hang out. She knows that prior to the father’s removal he also had behavioral difficulties in school. However these consisted of minor infractions which resulted in after school detention and on occasion suspensions.

After graduating high school, and upon returning to Massachusetts, Keenan was arrested and spent some months in jail. The mother thinks that after his arrest Keenan has had more difficulties adjusting to adulthood and the responsibilities that adulthood brings. The mother describes him as discouraged. She is happy about his latest enrollment in a community school but she is concerned about his overall view about the future. According to her Keenan does not always make the best choices and seems angry all the time. Keenan has a good relationship with his half siblings but she often feels that he isolates himself. According to her Keenan did not care about the father’s immigration affairs.

Derrick

At first I didn’t know nothing…then when she didn’t come home, (long Pause) I was mad…and then school started and my grades started going down…(Derrick, first interview)
Derrick is entering the ninth grade. He is fourteen years old. He is currently living with his grandmother, mother, aunt and two younger sisters. He enjoys playing basketball with his friends in the school’s yard, which is within walking distance from the house. He appears tall for his age. When I asked him if he is excited about starting high school, he nodded yes but his overall facial expression remained unchanged. He did not smile or provided any physical clue to support head nod. Throughout the interviews, Derrick was always serious. He never smiled. His answers were quick and short often requiring probing. At times I asked him if he wanted to continue our meeting, afraid that he might be upset or bored. He always said yes confidently and clearly. He always sat across from me. He sat straight and diligently listened for the questions. He did not extend conversation. He simply answered and at times asked for clarification. I wondered if he enjoyed the interviews or even having the opportunity to speak about his mother’s incarceration with ICE and current standing deportation order. Despite agreeing to the interview, and clearly stating that he wanted to do the interview, he provided no clue as to how the activity had impacted him. When he responded with head nods, I reminded him about the importance of verbalizations because I was recording.

Derrick’s mother came to the door. She is very thin and appears frail. Behind her are two little girls, one with a comb through her hair and the other with braided hair. They were no more than 10 years old. They seemed curious, while holding on to their mother’s side. Derrick’s mom asked me if I was Leila. I extended my hand and said yes. She told me that Derrick was on the basketball court and she would have to get him. I offered to drive. After crossing two small streets and entering into a parking a lot, I spotted a group of four boys dunking basketballs. She yelled for Derrick and the tallest one took quick steps towards the car. I smiled and said hi through the passengers open window, he opened the door and quickly sat in the back passenger
seat. I apologized for interrupting the game. He mumbled quickly “it’s OK.” I took a second look at him while backing out of the parking lot. He resembles his mother, just heavier and taller. He is clearly taller than her. He confirmed liking basketball.

Once at home, the mother led us to the living room. I placed my recording devices and pulled the manila folder with the assent and consent. The mother alerted me about the broken leg on the coffee table. I rearranged my paperwork, and continued with the needed explanations about the study, purpose and paperwork. Derrick sat motionless in front of me, on a little sofa. I told him that I would only proceed if he wanted to do the interviews. Despite his mother being in agreement, he would not be interviewed if he did not want to. He said “yeah” and stopped. I reaffirmed “are you Ok with this.” He again quickly and unaffected said “yeah.” I thought about ways to build rapport and gain trust but nothing came to mind. He just sat looking at me and waiting for me to proceed. We began the interview.

**Isolation and Disconnect**

Derrick did not use the words *isolated* or *disconnected* in describing his feelings. He did however state that he was unable to contact his mother while she was incarcerated with ICE due to the cost of the phone calls. Also the times she was allowed to call, he was in school. He also spoke of being separated from his sisters while the mother was incarcerated with Immigration and Customs Enforcement. His sisters were sent to their fathers, because the grandmother simply could not take care of all of them. He remained with the grandmother and the aunt while his mother was incarcerated. His lack of information about the mother attested to the isolation and disconnection. His inability to communicate with the mother via phone resulted in a lack of connection with the parent and the family.
Questions about citizenship and his sense of belonging also added to his feelings of isolation and disconnection. At first, Derrick stated with conviction that he is CV. When pressed about this issue and presented with the possibility of being both, he offered a long significant pause and then conceded that he is both.

LR- you were born in US, your grandparents are CV and your mom was born in CV, what are you?
D- I am CV.

LR- what about the American part? what happened to that
D- quiet....(pause)

LR- what do you think? are you American , are you CV, are you both?
D- I am both!

When asked about knowledge of his mother’s situation he stated;

LR- wait ...how did you first found out?
D- she called....

LR- she called from jail?
D- hum hum (indicating yes)

LR- then she told you?
D- no ...she didn’t tell me nothing

LR- who told you?
D- my aunt...

LR- what did your aunt tell you?
D- she had been arrested..

LR- and then what?
D- she didn’t know what happened...
LR- about what?
D- her being arrested...
LR- and if they did ..what would you have done....
D- (shoulder shrug- quiet)
LR- did it cross your mind that you might have to go also?
D- no
LR- no? that didn’t cross your mind?
D- (head nod no)

As for school personnel, he categorical stated that they knew of his situation but offered no assistance or support, resulting in feelings of isolation.

LR- you told me about your school....did they know at school what was going on?
D- yeah
LR- who knew?
D- my head teacher
LR- did you have a close relationship with your teacher
D- yeah ... he was my home teacher
LR- so how did you know he knew?
D- he told me that my auntie told him
LR- Ok so your aunt told him...so when he told you was there any support provided to you..did guidance speak to you, any teachers speak to you ?
D- no...nobody...
LR- nobody approached you?
D- head nod...no

LR- so I don’t get it...what was the purpose of them knowing?

D- (Shoulder shrug)

D- Ok, did you ever feel any different with school? the way they treat you?

D- (head nod no)

LR- they simply did not engage with you?

D- (head nod yes)

LR- when your grades started going down who noticed it?

D- my aunt

LR- your aunt noticed it?

D- and then was when she told the teachers...

LR- ok and that is when she told teachers, worried about your grades going down....and after she told the teachers did the school offer more support?

D- (head nod no)

LR- no ...ok...so you never met guidance counselors or teachers....teachers gave more time...or differentiate how they were approaching you

D- (head nod no...)

LR- you didn’t meet with guidance counselors?

D- (head nod no...)

LR- Ok...were you a good student before your mom went to jail?

D- yeahhh

LR- and then after your mom went to jail and you found out about the deportation what happened?
D- I would always fall behind...with the work...sometimes I would not turn in the work

LR- did school become more difficult?

D- yeah, very

LR- why?

D- because I was so far behind...

LR- so being behind was one of the problems...why were you behind?

D- I just couldn’t focus on the work

LR- were you worried?

D- I was worried I might fail..

LR- and if you failed what were the consequences?

D- I would stay back

LR- sounds like you had a lot on your mind..

D- (head nod yes..).

Fear and Uncertainty

Derrick remains in a state of uncertainty. In the interview his mother confided that her order of deportation is still standing. She is supervised by Immigration Customs Enforcement. Derrick spoke mostly about his fears, when the possibility of deportation came into view. He said that he was fearful,

If she [mother] went back they [sisters] would have none to look after them....

He was however certain that he would not go to Cape Verde. He clearly stated that he would stay and live with his grandmother.

LR- did it cross your mind that you might have to go also?
D- no
LR- no that didn’t cross your mind?
D- (head nod no) nah...I’d be with my grandma.

He also spoke of missing his mother, being scared and not knowing the end result of her incarceration.

“I missed her everyday....I was scared that they might send her back...”

**Guilt and Anger**

Derrick spoke of being angry.

At first I didn’t know nothing... then when she did not come home, (long Pause) I was mad...and then school started and my grades started going down...

When asked about his feelings about the situation, he answered,

D- I was mad about what was happening....
LR- mad at who?
D- everyone...
LR- does everyone mean your family, your mom?
D- like ..yeah everyone around me...people

At the end of the interviews with Derrick, and as I reflected and read the data I had a clear sense that despite my attempts I did not build any connection. Throughout our meetings he felt guarded, distant and watchful. He was most definitely in the moment and attentive as evidenced by his verbal and physical responses. He was attentive to my presence but he held some distance in between. After one of the interviews and trying to reflect on my feelings, I recalled that he stated that he liked his head teacher. I quickly went back to the recording and realized that when I followed up with “did you have a close relationship with your teacher?” his
answer was in the affirmative and his explanation was brief and superficial “yeah...he was my homeroom teacher”. He did not say what other adolescents might say of a teacher that they like “yes, he is cool!”, or “he let us get away with stuff!”, or even “he talks to me” or “he listens to me.” His explanations for liking his teacher were fundamentally because of the role of the teacher and not necessarily around feelings or particular ways the person approaches him or even around his perception about the person. I went through the interview, realizing that despite his young age, lack of experience, he presents people in his life by their roles (my sister, my auntie, my grandmother, my head teacher, etc). Then I came across his answer about who was he angry at people. I wondered if in his inability or unwillingness to indicate specific people, he was again relying on the role of people around him and their inability to assume the roles he had conferred to them when it came to resolving his difficulties. In the silence of my driveway I played with the idea in my head; the mother for not being home, the sisters for being separated, the grandmother for being passive, the aunt for not offering answers, the teacher for not helping with the grades, guidance for not speaking with him, and the list went on and on. I wondered of what I felt was his reliance on the role of the person, rather than on the relationship to the person got him stuck on the anger. Clearly my role as the researcher, the person asking the questions resulted in him answering the questions, and for the most part he was direct and short. Of course there was also the pending supervision of the mother’s case, the recency of the incarceration and involvement with ICE coupled with his young age. He might have not sorted all of this mess.

**Derrick’s mother’s narrative**

Derrick’s mother and aunt were interviewed together. Together they spoke about Derrick’s grades being impacted. Soon after the mother’s incarceration the aunt often received notes that Derrick did not complete his classwork or homework. The grades on his report card
were clearly lower. The aunt discussed over the phone with the mother her concerns with Derrick’s school while the mother was incarcerated. Together they decided that the best course of action was to ask school for help by disclosing the events. The aunt categorically stated that despite telling the school, she did not receive any help and to the best of her knowledge they did nothing in school to help Derrick. The mother recalled that she did not speak to Derrick over the phone because the cost of phone calls were unbearable for the family and that because of the structure of the scheduling given to her she was only allowed to call during mid-mornings. Derrick was at school, when she called. She told me that spoke to her son through the aunt. This statement by the parent was significant to me. I recalled while working at the consulate, speaking over the phone to a deported mother in Cape Verde and being told by the mother “I live my son’s life through pictures and letters!” I never forgot this conversation because as a parent I could not imagine raising my children from a distance particularly a distance imposed by others. Her story had been particularly relevant because she had been deported for what our judicial system termed as moral turpitude. She had been charged for two instances of forging a check and one instance of shoplifting. Since each case resulted in a sentence of less than 365 days, the three cases were compiled together to generate a deportation order under the charge of moral turpitude. As a result of the deportation she was separated from her son, who at the time was 5 years old. Talking to me via phone, 6 years after her deportation, this statement took on new meaning.

The mother explained the separation between the younger sisters and Derrick was necessary due to financial and logistical reasons. The two girls were given back to their fathers. Derrick remained with the grandmother because he has never had contact with his father. The mother added that her relationship with Derrick was close because he is the only male and they have always been together. She describes him as protective of the sisters and her. She was
always proud of him. His grades prior to her incarceration were very good. Middle school years were difficult. She explains that her incarceration impacted his performance in middle school. She hopes high school will be easier but underlines that there is still a lot of uncertainty about her situation. Her deportation was delayed by the Cape Verdean authorities due to refusal to provide travel documents. Since she does not have a passport, she cannot at this time be deported to Cape Verde. Her sister is currently very ill and undergoing treatment and the grandmother is elderly and physically unable to provide for the kids.

**Section II: Grand Tour Questions**

Section II of Chapter Four introduces the findings of the grand tour questions. These findings allow the reader to have a better understanding of the participant’s context, general knowledge of deportation in United States and the process of deportation of Cape Verdeans and the impact of deportation of Cape Verdeans within the Cape Verdean community of Brockton. Grand tour questions assist the reader in gaining a better understanding of the social context within which participants live as well as the current climate regarding the issue of immigration and in particular, deportation. The findings of the grand tour questions provide a broad picture of deportation in America and in particular in the Cape Verdean community of Southeast New England. To answer the grand tour questions, data were collected through interviews with community leaders, document analysis and newspaper articles. The findings of grand tour questions are distributed within three domains: Domain A: Meaning and Process of Deportation, Domain B: Deportation in the United States; and Domain C: Findings related to the perception of community leaders regarding the impact of deportation in the community of Brockton.

In domain A, the meaning of and process of deportation are explored through community leaders interviews and immigration and customs enforcement document analysis. In domain B
the issue of deportation in the United States is explored through community leaders’
understandings. In domain C community leaders’ impressions of the impact of deportation in the
Cape Verdean community of Brockton, Massachusetts. The Table 3 provides a synapse of the
themes that were lifted from the answers to grand tour questions.

**Domain A: Meaning and Process of Deportation**

In Domain A, two main themes arose related the meaning and process of deportation. An
immediate theme that developed from community leaders’ interviews was that deportation
means you are a criminal in the United States and in Cape Verde. When asked about knowledge
of the processes of deportation, leaders mainly spoke of the finality of the act. At times leaders
suggested deportation to be equal to the end of life. They did not elaborate about the process.
When asked directly if they had knowledge of the process, one stated that he was not fully
informed of the process. He also stated that he recently found out that when Immigration
Customs Enforcement is in possession of the person’s passport, the person can be deported
within days of apprehension, without judicial overview or Consular notification. The community
leader also stated that contrary to what he had previously done, he now specifically advises all
immigrants not to carry the passport on their person. Other community leaders, in answering the
questions related to their knowledge of the process of deportation, focused on the reasons for the
order and the finality of the process. Community leaders were clear that most people understand
deporation to mean involvement in a criminal activity. All community leaders perceived
deporation as an act of lifetime expulsion from United States.
### Table 3.

**Domains and Themes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Understandings</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong> Meaning and Process</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finality of deportation</td>
<td>There is no turning back after deportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you are deported you are a criminal</td>
<td>Deportation is the result of law violations</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>B</strong> Deportation in US</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation Process</td>
<td>Cultural demands and expectations placed on youth result in stress and behaviors that lead to deportation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C</strong> Deportation in the Community of Brockton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many CVs are deported</td>
<td>Youth get deported because they get involved in behaviors that are risky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth get deported</td>
<td>Deportation is stigmatizing to families, friends, and community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labeling and stigma</td>
<td>Fear of deportation has implications regarding how they seek resolutions or help for their case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Financial implications</td>
<td>There are serious financial implications for families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminalization of the community</td>
<td>Immigrants feel treated as criminals because of the threat of deportation.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Finality of deportation**

The theme finality of deportation refers to the idea that an order of deportation is final. Community leaders felt that individuals who are deported have no legal recourse. The return to Cape Verde under an order of deportation does not only result in the end of life in the United States (inability to work in the US, loss of any legal economic benefits such as retirement.
pension and or properties acquired, loss of family or the privilege of seeing their children grow up) but it also meant end of life in Cape Verde (inability to acquire work, live with dignity in Cape Verde.) Community leaders presented deportation from United States as a death sentence. If one is deported everything ends. Community leaders offered the following statements and vignettes.

A friend of mine ...he was involved in a marriage that they considered to be a fraud....they deported him. He did not get an attorney to fight the case but he had a standing order. His stepson became an adult and attempted to petition for him. When he went to interview for the residency, he was caught and deported. Never to come back (L2) The destruction of deportation is forever!(L2) They write on the documents 5, 10 years but it is for a lifetime, really!(L3) Once caught, they are gone. (L1)

In stating his limited knowledge about overall process, one community leader said,

Her brother was deported and she talks about him and cries...they caught him with the passport and sent him without notifying the consulate...I did not even know that they could deported without the consulate’s permission or notification...I did not know...I always thought that the consulate had to be notified...so it is a big impact in Brockton because the majority of families have people that have been deported...son, brother, cousins, friends. There are families...there is a woman from Fogo whose husband was deported ...they caught him at night and shipped him without notifying the consulate and without giving him any chances...they found him with a passport..I just found out that they do not need the permission if
the person has a passaport... before we would tell people to have their passport to use as ID...we no longer say that! Having the passport with you is no longer safe.

(L1)

**People Deported are Criminals**

When asked about the perceptions deportation illicit in the United Sates, and within the Cape Verdean community, leaders explained that regardless of the reasons one is deported, the act of being deported or having a deportation order results in the perception that one is a criminal. The statistics collected through Immigration Customs Enforcement data, presented after community leaders responses attempts to present offer information about the legal status of those deported. Community leaders stated,

> It doesn’t matter...the fact that you were deported...and criminals get deported therefore you must be a criminal... and this (thinking) exist in the community. (L1)

Another community leader punctuated,

> Cause again, deportation equals in their minds…deportation equals criminal activities. Period. You don’t differentiate between what level of deportation, why you were deported...it is the fact that you are a deportee or deported.” (L2)

When asked about the overall process, community leaders did not look at the act of deportation critically, or questioned the need or morality of deportation, but rather they empathized with the person being deported and found explanations for the behaviors that lead to deportation. One community leader, despite presenting deportation as a consequence of American education pointed to the need of deportation. This statement appeared to be offered in an attempt to reason
around needed punishment and to underline disagreement with youth criminal behaviors in the community. At the end of the statement, the community leader searched for validation from me about the need for deportation. Not wanting to agree and working to keep the conversation open, I quickly nodded haphazardly, understanding his need for validation but at the same time wanting to disagree with his observation. In an effort to avoid having to validate anything else, I looked down on my notepad and pretended to search for a follow up question.

I am not saying that we are going to end with deportation because frankly some kids or some people need to be deported...you know.(L3)

Showing a need to explain why Cape Verdean youth are at risk of being deported he later theorized,

We pick up the language a lot quicker than our parents do, so we become the mouth piece of the family, so when you are the mouth piece of the family you become that little man even before you are prepared to become that little man, you know, and then what happens when the parents don’t get any sort of education to help them along to catch up to the kids...the kids are doing 100 miles an hour and the parents are only doing 40... and the gap becomes bigger and bigger....and I honestly don’t feel that...the schools for instance are so concern with...and I blame them somewhat and at the same time I understand what is going on....they are so busy making sure that the kids are passing the MCAS and making sure that they are passing the standardize tests because that is what their livelihood depends on, that at times that social gap is not being taking care...these kids go to school and these problems are very visible...if you are looking for these
problems, you see it coming... it is a matter of time before it becomes a problem in the community.(L3)

**Domain B: Deportation in the United States**

In domain B community leaders reflected on the challenges of the acculturation process and the cultural gap that results from cultural mismatch between the parents born in Cape Verde and the youth raised in the US. To provide a better understanding of deportations in United States, graphs of number of people apprehended, removed and returned from the United States are offered in this section. Community leaders alluded to high number of people deported from the United States, but they mainly attributed characteristics to this population. Community leaders saw deportation in the United States as an event that mainly impacts youth. They explained the reasons for youths’ criminal involvement leading to deportation by associating parental lack of cultural knowledge, inability to guide youth through the requirements of living in the American society, language barriers, parental challenges in learning rules and regulations of receiving country, parental lack of knowledge about schools and educational system and some pointed to “cabeza rijo” (kids’ being hard heads).

![Figure 5. Legal Status of Capeverdeans Deported from United States](image_url)
Acculturation process

Community leaders presented and discussed the impact in the Cape Verdean American community and in the families in particular but they did not elaborate on the structural impact of deportation in United States. In an attempt to better understand community leaders’ perceptions data were collected in the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde regarding the ages of arrival in the United States of those deported between the years of 2007 to 2010. Given the difficulties and the rudimentary ways in which the data is stored and collected only the years 2007 to 2010 offered accurate information. Regarding the characteristics of those being deported, community leaders said,

We are deporting kids who came in their parents’ laps...you know...and if you came in your parents lap chances are you were not educated in CV or you did not go through your ...you know...adulthood I mean childhood in CV it happen here and the bulk of your education is here...but somehow you know ...instead of saying how are we going deal with Johnny is how are we going to deal with this CV...this CV issue....(L3) I feel that the gap that exists between the children and the parents that bring these children here are getting wider and wider....the kids come from CV and they acclimate themselves a lot quicker than the parents do...they acculturate themselves into the American culture...in the pop culture in the fast track, fast moving culture of the American society so much quicker than the parents and the gaps get bigger and bigger and bigger.....I mean we ....it happen to me and it happen to a lot of people that actually came to this country young....often we become the deciders on family matters...in terms of ...because... we pick up the language a lot quicker than our parents do...so we become the
mouth piece of the family, so when you are the mouth piece of the family you become that little man even before you are prepared to become that little man, you know…and then what happens when the parents don’t get any sort of education to help them along to catch up to the kids…the kids are doing 100 miles an hour and the parents are only doing 40… and the gap becomes bigger and bigger….and I honestly don’t feel that…the schools for instance are so concern with…and I blame them somewhat and at the same time I understand what is going on….they are so busy making sure that the kids are passing the MCAS and making sure that they are passing the standardize tests because that is what their livelihood depends on, that at times that social gap is not being taking care…these kids go to school and these problems are very visible…if you are looking for these problems, you see it coming…it is a matter of time before it becomes a problem in the community (L3).

Domain C: The Community of Brockton and Deportation of Cape Verdeans

Leaders focused mainly on the consequences and implications of deportation of Cape Verdeans in the community of Brockton. Community leaders, without exception perceived deportation of Cape Verdeans to be high in numbers (Many are deported). Although specific numbers were not provided, community leaders consistently made statements that alluded to high numbers of Cape Verdeans being deported in the community of Brockton. Other themes that emerged were deportations as prevalent among youth, labeling and stigmatization of those deported and their families, fear of asking for assistance related to the stigmatization, financial burden for the families, and the criminalization of Cape Verdeans.
Many Cape Verdeans are Deported

All three leaders saw deportation as a major problem in the Cape Verdean community and for Cape Verde due to the high numbers of deportations. Data on the number of Cape Verdeans deported is offered at the end of the leaders responses in order to better understand leaders perceptions of the numbers of deportations in the Cape Verdean community. Leaders said,

The Cape Verdean community in Brockton...there are a lot of cases...It is a huge impact...many of those that I see, bring me cases about their family members being deported. So it is a big impact in Brockton because the majority of families have people that have been deported...son, brother, cousins, friends.

(L2)

Only Youth are deported

All Cape Verdean community leaders understood deportation as an event more prevalent among teens and young adults, what leaders termed as “nos mininus” (our kids). The idea of subscribing this particular event, in this case deportation to a specific group bonded by particular characteristics, was evident when leaders presented a rationale of why deportation occurs. None of the leaders discussed the impact of parental deportation to Cape Verdean American born children or the impact of parental deportation on the children in terms of education or identity development. Despite being offered opportunities to reflect on this matter, community leaders showed some resistance, or perhaps lack of reflection around the topic of adult or parental deportation. Through these interviews it was clear that leaders were much more comfortable attributing the event of deportation to youth. Contradictions in this attribution resulted when in vignettes they explained the cause of deportation to be because of a fraudulent marriage. Regarding the population that is being deported, leaders stated,
It is not that we are deporting kids who came in their parents’ laps...you know...and if you came in your parents lap chances are you were not educated in CV or you did not go through your...you know...adulthood...I mean childhood in CV it happen here and the bulk of your education is here...but somehow you know...instead of saying how are we going deal with Johnny...is how are we going to deal with this CV issue... I feel that the gap that exists between the children and the parents that bring these children here are getting wider and wider...the kids come from CV and they acclimate themselves a lot quicker than the parents do...they acculturate themselves into the American culture...in the pop culture...in the fast track, fast moving culture of the American society so much quicker than the parents and the gaps get bigger and bigger and bigger...I mean we ....it happen to me and it happen to a lot of people that actually came to this country young....often we become the deciders on family matters... in terms of...because... we pick up the language a lot quicker than our parents do..so we become the mouth piece of the family, so when you are the mouth piece of the family you become that little man even before you are prepared to become that little man, you know...and then what happens when the parents don’t get any sort of education to help them along to catch up to the kids...the kids are doing 100 miles an hour and the parents are only doing 40... and the gap becomes bigger and bigger....and I honestly don’t feel that...the schools for instance are so concern with...and I blame them some what and at the same time I understand what is going on....they are so busy making sure that the kids are passing the MCAS and making sure that they are passing the standardize tests because that is what their
livelihood depends on, that at times that social gap is not being taking care...these kids go to school and these problems are very visible...if you are looking for these problems, you see it coming... it is a matter of time before it becomes a problem in the community. (L1)

In reflecting about solutions, a community leader again alluded to the event of deportation being particular to youth. One leader said,

The association has worked hard with children in terms of soccer programs, Karate etc in order to take the kids off the street. Because...I always said that the government of CV cannot decrease deportations in the US...the deportations will only decrease if CV community leaders, community associations, parents and all of us to work in trying to make these children American citizens....there is another way to decrease deportations... (L2)

Community leaders descriptions and reasons for deportations centered on youth and what was termed as youth behaviors. Even when offered an opportunity to discuss the impact of deportation for parents of adolescents, they consistently returned to the conversation suggesting the deportation as an event specific to Cape Verdean youth.

Well… I see it on two fronts, I see it on the actual... ahhh.. front of deportation and the impact it has on the families who are impacted by deportation but also as a community...I don’t know... organizer or somebody who is involved in the community, it...it is an issue that is almost of...of an embarrassment..... in a sense.... you know where....it is almost like... ohh, here is one of your guys being deported...(L2)
Community leaders also spoke of those returning to Cape Verde under deportation proceedings as a source of concern. They made statements regarding the inability to fully integrate in society of Cape Verde, in fact they alluded to those deported as being outcasts with areas in the city clearly marked for them. They often suggested the rise in criminality in the Islands as an outcome of deportation suggesting that those deported engaged in criminal behavior upon returning. The physical isolation of deportees in Cape Verde as well as the subsequent expectation of continued engagement in criminal behavior in country of origin appeared to be a direct outcome of the labeling and stigma of being deported.

In reflecting about the consequences of deportation another leader exemplified a particular case he had personal knowledge of by stating,

Because of some technicalities…you are going to seat here and put this lady classify this woman at the same level as a terrorist? in reality that is what you are doing...you are deporting...you deport- terrorists or you deport somebody that violate this ... got married the marriage did not work...so I divorce...and I thought I divorced but I guess I didn’t totally divorced, and remarried...so that is the situation we were putting this family through and it was devastating...and it was not only devastating for her it was devastating for everybody else...because everybody was like “oh Jesus what are we going to do? We are going to have to take care of her kids, what is going to happen to her house?. She had a home...she still has a home...I think...what is going to happen ...what is the situation her husband was all freak out because “I am going to get stuck with her kids from a previous marriage without you...” .I mean it was a mess” mess.... (L3).
All three leaders reflected on the stigma and labeling of those that are deported to Cape Verde. In describing the general feelings about deportation in Cape Verde and within the Cape Verdean communities in America, one community leader stated,

You get labeled...stigmatized…and you are basically done. It does not matter if you killed somebody, sold drugs, bought drugs or you were sitting in a car that was actually stolen with a friend of yours...(L1)

Some responses about presence or absence of stigma were clear and required no explanation,

Yes…there is a lot of stigma. (L2)

Other responses, despite being clear came with a flood of vignettes and examples.

Often because of shame and stigma we do not look for help until it is too late.....for an example there is a guy from Praia that applied for residency through marriage but was denied....he was married to an American citizenship. We petition a second time. and they approved the petition. But this guy in the beginning would not call me to ask for help because of shame...finally his aunt called me.(L2)

Well… I see it on two fronts, I see it on the actual... ahhhh.. front of deportation and the impact it (stigma) has on the families who are impacted by deportation but also as a community...I don’t know… organizer or somebody who is involved in the community, it...it is an issue that is almost of...of an embarrassment.....in a sense....you know where....it is almost like... ohh, here is one of your guys being deported...(L2)
Labeling and Stigma

In all three interviews community leaders pointed to deportation as devastating for the families, a problem for Cape Verde and for Cape Verdean communities in America as well as an issue that is embarrassing for themselves. The embarrassment felt by family, community and community leaders was presented as the reenactment of the stigma and labeling associated with deportation. Two leaders suggested that fear of being stigmatized prevents families from accessing services. One community leader suggested that this same fear prevented families from acknowledging those deported as members of the family. The community is bruised and battered by the perception of Cape Verdeans as criminals. One community leader alluded to discriminatory behaviors by others of different ethnic origin by pointing out that discrimination due to deportations goes well beyond the individual and family but it captures all those that are Cape Verdean regardless of their role in the community, including the leaders themselves. Leaders suggested the existence of a subculture or underclass of citizens in Cape Verde composed of all those that are deported. One leader stated that in Cape Verde there are areas, such as parks specially marked as belonging to those that are deported, perceived by the population as where they (deportees) “hang out.”

None of the leaders explored the impact of this perception on children of Cape Verdeans or on the children’s school experiences in Brockton. Regarding this topic, Community leaders stated,

Those that I work with tell me that their neighbors may humiliate them, and sometimes others have said “less one!” (L1)
**Fear**

All three leaders suggested that fear of deportation and the devastation caused by deportation is present in the community. This fear is not only associated with the idea of being separated from family and friends, but also of the treatment that one should expect in Cape Verde if returned under deportation order. Leaders suggested that the fear often prevents families from looking for help in the case of involvement with immigration custom enforcements, but also fear of disclosing status and seeking help in Cape Verde once returned to Cape Verde under deportation order. A community leader pointed out that fear is a consequence as well as an outcome of deportation. Leaders stated,

> Often our people they do not show up for court...because of fear. It has a huge impact, people are timid and are not open to discussion when problems arise. 
> (L2)

> I know many deportees in Cape Verde that do not get involved with anybody...they live a solitary life because they are scared that others finding out that they were deported from U.S. (L1)

> You don’t look for help...you starve, you hurt, because of fear. Many kill themselves because living like that is no life (L2)

**Financial Implications of Deportation**

All three community leaders were clear about the devastating financial consequences of deportation. They described cases of family members who remain in the U.S. and had to send money to the country of origin for the support of the person deported, and the lack of employment in Cape Verde for those deported due to stigma. Leaders said,
Now when someone gets deported the family must work twice as hard...they must financially sustain those that are here and those deported to Cabo Verde...because once deported you will not find a job in CV. Many do not find jobs there is an economic, emotional and social impact (L2)

**Criminalization of Cape Verdean Immigrant Communities**

Another important theme that emerged was the idea of criminalization of immigrants and immigrant communities. All three community leaders underlined the criminalization of immigrant communities. All three leaders acknowledged that Cape Verdeans and Cape Verdean community are bruised and battered by the perception of Cape Verdeans as criminals. One community leader alluded to discriminatory behaviors by others of different ethnic origin by pointing out that discrimination due to deportations goes well beyond the individual and family but it captures all those that are Cape Verdean regardless of their role in the community, including the leaders themselves. None of the leaders explored the impact of this perception on children of Cape Verdeans or on the children’s school experiences in Brockton. Leaders stated,

That’s the impact that it has directly on a lot of us in a sense, it is not just those affected individuals and families... but because we are labeled in this community...hha Whitey Bulger did what he did, got arrested went to jail, is in jail, doing all the other things and nobody knows he is an irishman. But if Whitey Bulger was a Cape Verdean, I think it is safe to say that it would be plaster all over the place... that a Cape Verdean did this a Cape Verdean did that...so that’s...that’s the situation we live in and live under... that causes some major problems and headaches for us. (L3)
He insisted on the discriminatory behavior by later in the interview reiterating, again I came back to the Whitey Bulger ...no Irishman in this community said.. you know... were told anything about how are you going to end the violence within the Irish community ...the mob and the mobster of Italian descent...nobody talks to them as if they were Italians...they basically the Capones of the world...they have names...we the criminals within the CV community have no names... they become Cape Verdeans and that is the frustrating part for a lot of us that work in problems in the community....we see it as a total problem. (L3)

One community leader described an encounter with a community official that he felt exemplified this attitude of criminalization of immigrants.

I will never forget the day that I walk into city hall and the mayor, chief of police and the D.A. were sitting at a meeting because there was a shooting the Sunday before in Luanda (Cape Verdean restaurant in Brockton), ...where... I mean some kids went out and shot out the place pretty bad...so I came in the office and the mayor says “hey I need to talk to you a little bit…you know.. once you settle in” so I go to my desk did what I needed to do and I came to the meeting...and the DA turns to me in his little lispy voice “yo” folks where playing cowboys and Indians yesterday!” ..yo’ folks!?!...Now...it is not the Brockton kids...it is not the 4 kids or 5 kids or whatever number of kids, they became my folks...not a....they were as much the Mayor’s folks or the police chief’s folks and the DA folks as my folks.

The only thing that we had in common was the fact that we were from the same ethnic background. And I remember, you know, being kind of nasty about it in terms of my response to him ....because it bothered me a bit...because here I
am ...now mind you, that these kids were American citizens of Cape Verdean
descent but yet somehow it is almost like it became my problem. Cause...He
actually turned to me and said “what are you going do about these issues?” (L1)

Conclusion

This exploratory case study sought to answer the question, how do youth understand and
experience the deportation of a parent? And in what ways are the schooling experiences of youth
impacted when their parents are ordered deported?

Grand tour questions provided a contextual outline and a feel for the climate immigrants
and children of immigrants live in. Grand tour questions focused on deportation in the
community of Brockton as well as a brief understanding of deportation in the United States. The
themes found in the analysis of the grand tour data were intertwined. Deportation resulted in
stigmatization and labeling and ultimately criminalization of the Cape Verdean community in the
United States. It was also clear that the shame and stigmatization of deportation extends to Cape
Verde. Those that are deported have considerable challenges finding employment and
consequently financially supporting themselves in Cape Verde. These result in more financial
pressures and social stressors for the family that remains in the United States. Leaders gave
examples of a society of second class citizens, in Cape Verde, composed by those that were
deported from the United States. In one instance, a leader recalled that there are specific corners
in the capital city of the island of Santiago that the mayor of the city described as the deportee
“hangout.” Legally unable to live in the United States, and socially casted in Cape Verde, the
leaders described the life of a person deported as having a quality of finality. The idea that once
one is deported, the process cannot be reversed, and nothing can be done to preserve the family
results in fear of deportation within the Cape Verdean community of Brockton. Overall the
climate for immigrants in the United States was presented as threatening. Community leaders alluded to a process of racialization or ethnization associated with the process of deportation.

**Understanding and Experiencing Parental Deportation**

In section I youth interviews were analyzed for themes. As to the question how do youth understand and experience the deportation of a parent, three main themes emerged. Youth spoke of their experiences with the event of deportation in terms of feeling isolated and disconnected, fearful and uncertain of the future, guilty and angry. None of the youth interviewed knew the exact reasons that led to the deportation and overall these did not seem to be important. Through the results of this study, I concluded that the youth that participated in this study did not seek to understand the reasons that led to the deportation of their parent. The reasons did not seem relevant and all participants expressed not being interested in the reasons that led to the deportation. Youth participants felt the deportation to be unfair and unwarranted based on who they knew their parents to be as persons. Upon being confronted with the possibility of deportation, youth participants sought for a resolution and experienced the event in all its intensity. They were fearful, felt isolated and disconnected. They felt angry, guilty about the lack of control and were uncertain about the future. All participant youth focused on the injustice of deporting their parent given their belief that their parent is a good person.

**Schooling Experiences**

In terms of schooling experiences, all three youth participants disclosed being impacted. Youth feelings of isolation and disconnection extended to the school setting. All three youth participants spoke of lack of intervention by school officials in terms of guidance or support related to counseling or academics. This lack of support resulted in negative experiences in the school setting. One youth participant used academic activities to distance herself from the event
of having a parent under order of deportation. This resulted in good grades. She used school work to escape the stressors of her home situation, but her overall connection to school and school personnel was superficial. Sara recognized that her oral participation in classes decreased following her father’s involvement with Immigration Customs Enforcement. She admitted to not talking to her teachers or seeking the help of guidance. She stated that school personnel did not know about her situation at home and it was her impression that they did not care to know. These statements underlined her feelings of isolation and disconnection. These feelings might also have been in part the result of her change from private to public school after her father’s incarceration by Immigration Services. The change was necessary due to the financial stressors at home. She recognized having many friends in the private school, prior to her father’s incarceration. She clarified that her father was well known in the community of the private school, given his work with the church. In the public school, her family was not known and as a result her father’s contribution to the community was not recognized. On the other hand, Sara stated that she distanced herself from those who knew her father such as extended family, friends and community acquaintances. According to her, those who knew her father saw her with pity and often made questions that made her uncomfortable.

Derrick, a 14 year old, is aware of the negative impact the experience of parental deportation had in his school standing. He attributed his lower grades to not caring and feeling unmotivated. He expressed feelings of sadness over his poor performance in school, following his mother’s incarceration with Immigration Customs Enforcement. He explained that despite wanting to do well, like he had done before, he had difficulties focusing and concentrating on school work. His schooling experiences were impacted in that he no longer perceived himself as a good student. Derrick also spoke of isolation and disconnection. He admitted that school
personnel did not contact him, sought to help by talking to him or provided assistance in any way despite their knowledge about what was happening at home.

Keenan, while highly aware of his academic abilities, felt that his behaviors such as not turning in homework, skipping school, engaging in fights which resulted in suspensions were a direct result of the anger and uncertainty he felt. From all three youth participants, Keenan was the only one that became involved with law enforcement and was incarcerated for a few months after High School completion. According to him his anger is directed towards the structure that allows for deportation and incarceration. He spoke of his incarceration and alluded to the fact of being poor and black as directly related to his father’s deportation and his incarceration. He stated that if he had retained a private lawyer he would have beaten his case. He often alluded to the idea that America only works for those who are white and have money. He reported that school personnel found out of his father’s incarceration with immigration Customs Enforcement and possible deportation through the newspaper. The day following the media reports school personnel approached him to ask him if any of his peers had bothered him about his father’s incarceration. He stated that school personnel only did that to make sure there would be no trouble in school and that in no time school personnel sought to help him understand or work through the situation that was happening at home. His conclusions were based on the fact that this was the only time school personnel ever approached him and questioned about the incident. His reports provided strong indication of the quality of his schooling experiences. Through this event he gained knowledge of his value or lack thereof, as a student in the school. Subsequent to his father’s incarceration, he often missed school, became involved in fights, was suspended and spent time in an alternative school. After completing high school, Keenan was incarcerated for a
period of time. Despite being born in the United States he does not identify himself as an American.

Two youth participants spoke of becoming more aware of the inconsistencies of some curricular content and questioning the presentations made at school. One youth participant spoke of her difficulties when presented with the idea of America being a country of immigrants. Alluding to the idea of how can it be, if immigrants are mistreated? An older male youth participant spoke of his anger towards the “system” as well as the inconsistencies in the treatment of black and white people.

Throughout the interviews, youth participants were very aware and connected to the experience of their parents’ deportation. They spoke of the event intensely and continually returned to their feelings, which related to the overall event rather than specific experiences in school, signaling their schooling and education as having been placed in the background. Despite recognizing that the event impacted their schooling experiences, during the interviews they focused on the overall experience of the event rather than of the impact on their schooling experiences. The acknowledgement of impact on schooling experiences followed by a consistent return to the discussion about the experience of dealing with the deportation of a parent signaled the intensity and power of the experience as a whole rather than the sole experiences within the school subsequent to the parents’ deportation. This was also an indication of their need to focus and talk about the event in totality.
Chapter Five

Introduction

This exploratory case study had a specific focus on American born children of adults deported or with a pending deportation order. It was guided by a research question; How do youth understand, experience and negotiate the deportation of their Cape Verdean parent (s)? And the sub question; in what ways are the schooling experiences of youth impacted when their parent is ordered deported?

Chapter five provides a discussion around the specific questions of this study and raises questions as to the political, economic and social structures that support family separation through deportation. The chapter begins with a summary of the findings followed by a discussion around the climate currently felt in the United States about immigrants as experienced by the participants and as described by the community leaders. This is an attempt to contextualize the participants’ experiences and to better understand the impact of deportation in bonded communities. Also an attempt to begin carving recommendations for school districts in areas densely populated by immigrant communities and the institutions that are in the trenches, and have direct impact on these children, is provided. Recommendations are structured at three levels: Federal; District; and community level. Implications for research are also included. At the conclusion of the chapter I offer my reflections as a Cape Verdean American, teacher, student, immigrant, and researcher.
Schooling Experiences

The results of this study found that youth participants experienced a deep sense of fear and uncertainty regarding their family’s stability and their own future subsequent to the possibility of their parent being deported. This instability and uncertainty impacted school experiences in that two participants were forced to change schools, with one changing from one state to another. Bradshaw, Sudhinaraset, Mmari and Blum (2010) found that school transitions among military adolescents ranging in ages from 13-18 years old, placed stress on student’s social support system due to the challenges of having to initiate and sustain new friendships. Bradshaw et al. (2010) also found that new aspects of school environment added to the stress experienced by the students. Sara changed from a private Catholic school to a much larger public school, in an effort to lessen the financial hardship on the mother. Keenan was forced to move due to a change in living arrangement. Given his father’s incarceration, he was forced to go live with his mother. The change in schools resulted having to establish a different circle of friends for Sara and Keenan. Keenan went to live with his mother for the first time. He acknowledges that the friendships he made in the other state were not always positive. He had no expectation of these being long-lasting. He was often involved in fights and was often suspended. Keenan’s perception of self is that “given a chance I can be a troublemaker” (keenan, interview 3). Sara’s description of the friendships she made following the change in school, were short and superficial. She denied connecting to school friends in a significant way and admitted that due to having to deal with the stress of her father’s deportation she mainly kept to herself. Sara also made statements as to other people, mainly relatives and school officials of not understanding what she was going through. Derrick maintained the same group of friends but denied discussing what was happening at home with any of his friends. Derrick admitted to his homeroom teacher
knowing about the situation at home. However he denied ever being supported or asking for support at school. All three youth exhibit a deep sense of disconnection with school, family and friends. It was clear that all three negotiated the experience by isolating themselves.

All three youth expressed deep levels of stress and anxiety. Sara’s mother described an event where Sara broke down. While crying and feeling completely overwhelmed she demanded answers from the mother. According to the mother it was evident that Sara had reached the breaking point due to lack of answers and uncertainty and fear. Sara also negotiated her stress and anxiety by focusing on school work. She admits that this was a mechanic way of keeping busy, and keeping her mind occupy with something other than what was happening at home. Keenan’s behaviors in school allowed for an escape. His suspensions due to fights and the exhibition of inappropriate social behaviors released some of the anxiety and resulted in some attention being paid to his emotional state. Derrick seemed to have less coping strategies. His stress and anxiety immediately resulted in a drop in grades, which he explained by his inability to concentrate and focus on the work. Derrick described himself as a good student prior to his mother’s incarceration with Ice and has a “bad” student after his mother’s incarceration. Derrick also states that he became quieter following his mother’s incarceration. Derrick’s aunt also agreed with Derrick’s description stating that she felt he was no longer the same kid.

All three youth participants described being impacted by the experience of having a parent deported or in process of deportation. The impact seemed to be immediate, negative and long-lasting. Keenan discredited his schooling experiences and academic achievement by stating that “about 80% of the knowledge I have right now, I didn’t learn in school” (Keenan, interview 3). Keenan’s behavior difficulties were also predicable given the family events. Saylor et al. (2009) found that children exposed to family trauma were significantly more likely to exhibit
behavioral problems and school difficulties. The study also concluded that those students exposed to family trauma were more likely to be determined to be special needs students (Saylor et al., 2009). Sara described her sarcastic attitude (chuckling) about statements she heard in social studies class about America being a country of immigrants. Sara also made statements as to her immediately noticing the contradictions in materials and social ideologies in school. Derrick, the only participant still in school, much younger and with his mother still with a pending order of deportation, describes his disconnection with school as well as his drop in grades but appeared to have difficulties articulating his feelings and experiences in school. Streeck-Fisher and Van Der Kolk (2000) found that memory and cognitive engagement in youth were compromised when youth were exposed to traumatic family events. Derrick suggested that he lost focus and was unable to concentrate on school work.

**Understanding and Negotiating the Event**

Youth participants negotiated their experiences by disconnecting and isolating from others. The disconnection was also evident in their hesitation in identifying themselves as American citizens, despite being born and raised in the United States. They felt their national identity was compromised by the event of parental deportation. Sara admitted to still struggling by feeling ambivalence when identifying herself as an American. Keenan denied his identity as an American pointing to the lack of protections America offers. This was in direct relationship with his experiences as an American youth undergoing the event of parental deportation.

None of the youth interviewed demonstrated or had specific knowledge of the reasons their parents were deported or became involved with immigration. They all negotiated their parents’ involvement with immigration through their perception of who their parents are as persons. They all felt that deporting their parents was unfair. None of the participants expressed
the need to know more about legal reasons that lead to the deportation. Guilt due to the inability to resolve their parents’ situation and anger about the lack of control over their parents’ situation was also part of the conversation. For all three youth interviewed, the event of parental deportation and involvement with immigration impacted their schooling experiences. All three youth felt isolated in school and did not seek school personnel for assistance or support. They all understood school personnel to be unable or uninterested to assist. Two of the participants related the event of the deportation to academic and disciplinary difficulties. One participant stated that she used the school work to separate from the situation at home. However she also pointed out that she had difficulties tackling certain subjects that presented ideologies or experiences that contradicted her experiences as the child of a person deported.

Interviews with community leaders allowed for a better understanding of the climate around deportation at the community level. It is within in this climate that youth participants live and have dealt with the experience of potentially losing a parent to deportation. Through interviews with community leaders the study found the perception within the Cape Verdean community is that many Cape Verdeans are deported. It was evident that deportation is associated with the idea of finality, and criminality. Finality refers to the end of quality of life, end of opportunities for advancement, severe limitations in developing and sustaining relationships due to geographical imposition. Deportation is associated with stigma and ostracism in immigrant communities in the United States and in Cape Verde. The labeling and stigma around deportation within the immigrant community in the United States as well as the stigma of being a deportee in Cape Verde leads to fears and shame. Fear of deportations within immigrant communities is high given the stigma, the family separation and financial implications of being deported. Community leaders also acknowledge that those in danger of being deported
are somehow involved in criminal behaviors and they follow by reasoning that deportation is mostly associated with youth. Leaders also spoke of the criminalization of immigrants communities in the United States as a result of the representations in the media and the overall negative climate around immigration in the United States. The Community leaders interviewed perceive the current social climate in the United States as inauspicious for immigrants, particularly immigrants of color.

**Belief of Permanence versus the Reality of Transience**

Deportation and state of deportability is associated with undocumented immigrants. However deportation and state of deportability is also a reality for those with Legal Permanent Residence status (LPR). Deportability is defined as the “specific vulnerability to arrest and the spatial removal, as well as linked legal penalties, such as the loss of rights to future ‘legal‘ immigration” (Talavera, Núñez-Mchiri & Heyman, 2010, pp. 166-167). Changes in immigration law in 1996 (IIRRA, AEDPA) in response to Oklahoma City bombing, the events of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent creation of Department of Homeland Security (DHS) resulted in increased legal vulnerabilities for lawful permanent residents and their children. These laws limited judicial powers, restricted due process, and eliminated family hardship as a relief from deportation. These laws allow for crimes, otherwise considered misdemeanors to be defined as aggravated felonies, punishable by incarceration followed by deportation. Often and in desperation, those I visited while they were incarcerated spoke of the outlook of deportation as being much worse than being incarcerated in the United States. Many stated that they would prefer to be incarcerated for double the amount of time than to be forcibly separated from their families through deportation. They spoke of the fears of returning to a country that would
exclude and ostracize them from the airport. They begged for their lives, hoping that in my role with the consulate I would have some control over their situation.

The retroactivity aspect of the laws result in deportations for crimes that occurred years many years prior to the deportation order is particularly impactful to children. The youth participants interviewed had no knowledge of the events that lead to the deportation order. In the case of Sara, the events that triggered a deportation order occurred 13 years prior to the father’s incarceration. Sara was three at the time of the event and 16 at the time the father was incarcerated. In Keenan’s case, the event occurred prior to Keenan being born. While working at the Consulate of Cape Verde in 2010 and 2011, I often dealt with cases with an order of deportation in 2010, 2011 for crimes committed in the 1980’s. As a result, those in process of deportation were now older, heads of households, and primary income earners for their families. I recall a case of a man in his late 60’s. He was charged with domestic violence in 1986. Subsequent to the charge, he went through a divorce. In 2010, married to another person and with six adult children from the second marriage, he was apprehended and incarcerated for approximately 6 months by immigration customs enforcement and placed under deportation rolls. The order of deportation was given due to the charges of domestic violence incurred in 1986. All six adult children were born in the United States and had no knowledge of their father’s first marriage history. The first wife wrote a letter requesting ICE to release him, to no avail. Given the adult children’s U. S. citizenship and his health status the Consulate refused to provide travel documents. After 180 days of incarceration, ICE released him under supervision. Changes in immigration law have increased deportations rates and the state of deportability among legal permanent residents. As a consequence children of immigrants, many American born have also become more vulnerable to parental separation due to deportation.
Those who seek and are granted legal permanent residency in the United States, leave the country of origin with the expectation and accepting the perduring quality of their actions. The move almost always requires letting go of employment, personal property and for some, the giving up of social status in the country of origin. The idea of physically disconnecting from a known environment and attempting to reconnect and be successful to an unknown social cultural environment brings to mind uncertainties and anxieties that for many is traumatic. Also, linguistic differences between country of origin and receiving country impacts levels of independence, and ultimately ability to succeed in receiving country. Given what is left behind, it is important that the move be done with the guarantee of permanency in the receiving country.
The dreams and hopes of legal permanent residents is often grounded in educational advancement of their children, better employment, social and financial stability and an access to opportunities that would otherwise not be available in country of origin. Despite these dreams and hopes, success and the realization of such dreams is not a guarantee; but it is also challenging given the social and political limitations of LPR status. The status of LPR limits opportunities for educational advancement, access to certain property, and or type of employment, and increases political and social vulnerability. The idea of returning to country of origin may be the wish of many but it is seldom a realistic expectation.

According to Immigration and Customs enforcement data most of those deported hold the status of lawful permanent residents. This status is clearly stated on an official card, provided by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Services. Individuals and families must apply and meet all requirements in order to be granted legal entry in the United States. Meeting requirements is the result of careful background investigation, health clearances and provision of financial statements of support. Those who apply for a lawful permanent residency seek to
establish permanent residency in the United States. The statement of permanency in the documents is misleading. In reality an LPR status increases social and legal vulnerability, in fact placing individuals and families in a state of transiency. This state can only be alleviated by entering the process of citizenship, which is only possible following five years of residence. For some the process of citizenship is not an option given the requirements. As the parents remain under an LPR status, their American born children enter into a state of social and political vulnerability.

**Immigration and Deportation in the United States**

**The Climate.** Constructing a populous rationale that supports deportations requires narratives of fear (Kanstroom, 2007). In the United States these narratives rely heavily on the idea that immigrants may hold ideological stances that are “counter” American interests and or that immigrants take jobs from U. S citizens. In the presidential remarks of November 2014 about Immigration, President Obama acknowledged these fears by stating “I know some worry immigration will change the very fabric of who we are, or take our jobs, or stick it to middle-class families at a time when they already feel they’ve gotten the raw deal of the decade” (Obama, 2014). He attempts to dissipate these fears by reminding us that “our history and the fact shows that immigrants are a net plus for our economy and our society” (Obama, 2014). President Obama’s executive action of November 20, 2014 was aimed at protecting undocumented families from deportation. Through this executive action approximately 5 million people who are undocumented, may apply for temporary residency, work permits, driver licenses, etc. In response to President’s Obama’s executive action, and demonstrating strong opposition to immigration reform aimed at protecting undocumented individuals and families, the speaker of the house John Boehner as well as a number of republican leaders accused the
president of “violating the law”, “ignoring the will of the American people”, and “political
grandstanding”. Former Governor of Florida threatened political inaction by stating that the
president’s action “undermines all efforts to forge a permanent solution to this crisis” (Bradner &
Rosche, 2014). The blogs that followed the president’s remarks on immigration were also
indicative of the negative climate of immigration reforms. Some of these blogs were entitled
“Obama’s amnesty benefits lawbreaking employers” (Freere, 2014), “Amnesty requires
immigration cuts” (Krikorian, 2014), “Bluelight Special on Naturalization to help Fund Obama’s
Amnesty” (Vaughan, 2014). Many suggested that Obama’s approach to immigration justified
impeachment procedures. The difficulties in putting immigration reform on the table and the
historically oppressive anti-immigration climate is a testament as to the ideological complexities
existent within the issue of immigration.

The negative climate around immigration is also present at the local community level
(Immigrants and Crime, 2009). Youth participants demonstrated knowledge of this climate when
they articulated dislikes for the way the system works. Keenan expressed dislike for an America
that translates its policies into issues of race. He openly stated his belief that America would not
allow its citizens to be treated in the way America treats immigrants. Sara also spoke of the
contradictions she sees in the treatment of immigrants versus the descriptions of America often
present in history classes. Derrick, still young presented his disbelief with towards a system that
wants to deport his mother. Youth participants may also feel this climate in the media. The
Enterprise, a daily Brockton newspaper, often runs articles on immigrants that were rounded for
deportation in these articles, the newspaper provides full names and at times street addresses of
immigrants involved with ICE. This information is extremely damaging to the families involved
and it places the community in check given the high numbers of immigrant population and the
stigma around deportation within the community. The lack of disclosure on the characteristics of those deported in terms of the family composition (i.e. parents of American born children, spouses of American citizens, type of crimes that are deportable) serves a purpose. Populous knowledge of the characteristics could be a push for change in immigration laws. The limited information presented by the media also works to generate misconceptions and assumptions around the issue. The media most often works to manufacture consent around political and social issues (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

According to DHS data, between the years of 2004 to 2012 and average of 39.4 Cape Verdeans obtained orders of deportation, nationwide. The average number of travel documents requested to the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde between the years of 2007 and 2010 was 36.5 annually. These requests are nationwide and do not only represent the community of Brockton; however despite this number being considerably small, there is the perception that there are numerous deportations in the Cape Verdean community. Media presentation about deportations in the community of Brockton adds to the perception that there are numerous deportations within the Cape Verdean community. It is also important to note that given that the community is close knit, and Cape Verde is a small nation of approximately 500,000 people, a deportation potentially impacts many families thus adding to the perception that there are many deportations.

The perception of high numbers of Cape Verdeans being deported adds to fears, stigmatization, and shaming within the community. Youth participants reflected feelings of stigmatization and shaming in their inability to ask for support from school personnel, family and friends. They spoke of their fears openly.
Reasoning the numbers of Cape Verdeans deported requires that community members develop a rationale regarding the reasons why Cape Verdeans are being deported. Community leaders consistently point to youth and difficulties in acculturation as being the problem. However looking at the data of the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde we conclude that most travel documents provided to ICE, subsequent to an order of deportation were for people between the ages of 24 to 33 with arrivals in the United States between the ages of 6 through eleven. Most of those deported to Cape Verde began and completed elementary and secondary education in the United States. Community leaders were aware of the educational history of most of those deported. One noting the failure of the American educational system in terms of immigrant youth, stated “everything that they learned, they learned here, not in Cape Verde. So if they are in trouble, they learned trouble here”. According to data from the Consulate General of the Republic of Cape Verde, between the years of 2007 and 2010 more than half of the travel documents provided for the purpose of deportation were for males between the ages of 25 and 38, who arrived in the United States between the ages of 6 through 17. Most claimed English as their primary language.

What is Immediately Felt

Like the participants, it is likely that most children of immigrants are not fully aware of their parents’ legal status in the country. None of the three participants were aware of their parents’ legal vulnerability with Immigration agencies prior to their parents being threaten with deportation. All participants stated that they assumed that their parents were American citizens or never considered the subject of citizenship. The participants never considered the possibility of parental deportation. The confusion generated by their parents’ arrest with immigration resulted in fear and feelings of uncertainty about the future. One participant described the feeling of
disbelief when confronted with the information of the possibility of his mother’s deportation. Menjivar & Abrego (2012) suggest that conditions of vulnerability and fear affect educational experiences.

Participants suggested impact in their school placement, school work and relationships. Two participants were forced to move schools due to a change in living arrangements. All three participants suggested decreased parental involvement and family involvement in school matters. And all three reported to having disconnected from friends and school personnel. All three reported not talking about their situation or asking for help in school. While two male participants suggested that their feelings impacted their school work as evidenced by a drop in grades, and subsequent multiple suspensions, the female participant suggested that she used her school work to escape the climate of tension she experienced at home. As a result her grades were maintained. The same female participant also stated that she withdrew from school friendships and felt particularly impacted when subject matter related to immigration was presented in class. These presentations resulted in feelings of sadness and anger.

Participants’ feelings of stability were jolted by the possibility of parental separation through deportation. The possibility of parental expulsion from the United States lead the participants to becoming more aware and to questioning their own citizenship. All of the participants hesitated presenting themselves as Americans but they also hesitated when identifying themselves as Cape Verdean. This was an indication of their fragmented realities. In this respect their sense of belonging seemed to be compromised.

Moving Beyond Appearances: Recommendations and Study Implications

At the Federal Level: Exposing Senseless Policies. The deportation of legal permanent residents impacts American born children, destroys families, hurts the community, and burdens
state services. Giroux (2013) endorses the understanding of the current hardened social climate by recognizing the presence of “brutalizing psychology of desensitization”. He explains that these grow “out of a formative culture in which war, violence, and the dehumanization of others becomes routine, commonplace, and removed from any sense of ethical accountability” (Giroux, 2013, P. 71). When Federal policies fail to recognize the harm to children and youth, placing the emphasis on homeland security, these same policies violate what it was intended to protect in the first place and reproduces the same dangers it was meant to counter. Youth disconnect and question their national identity, and lose sense of belonging due to policies that hurt and impact them directly. In 2012, in a Brockton community meeting held by the Department of Homeland Security, when I posed the issue to Dorothy E. Herrera Niles, the director of DHS for New England, of the vulnerability of American born children, she responded that “the children are free to leave with the parent.” She dismissed the children’s American citizenship and right to live in their country and failed to consider the significance of having American born children, who hold American passports leave under such conditions. When pressed about the United States increased vulnerability, given that these children are almost “expelled” and as a result may fail to build any allegiance to the US, she punctuated that “there are plenty of American children that chose to live abroad.” The conditions under which these children leave the United States were also not considered. I recalled leaving the meeting, in a cold November Fall day feeling hopeless for the children caught in the process. They are citizens, but they are second class citizens.

Deporting legal permanent residents because a crime was committed, amounts to the senseless idea of racial and ethnic cleansing the country. The Immigration Policy Center (2007) stated that “the problem of crime in the United States is not caused or even aggravated by immigrants, regardless of their legal status” (p.1) Through an analysis of previously conducted
studies, Rumbaut Et. Al. (2006) situated the topic of crimes by immigrant population by concluding the following:

1. Violent and Property Crime Rates Fell as the Undocumented Population Doubled in Size
2. Immigrants are Five Times Less Likely than the Native-Born to be in Prison
3. Immigrants from Nations that Account for Most of the Undocumented Have Lower Incarceration Rates than the Native-Born
4. Focusing on the Immigrant Share of Inmates in Federal Prison Distorts the Real Story
5. The Skinny on the SCAPP (State Criminal Alien Assistance program) Sound-Bite: SCAPP Data Cannot Be Verified

The number of expulsions and deportations are often used by politicians to explain to their constituency how the country is safer with the policies of deportation. This presentation also adds to the belief that crimes are mostly committed by the “others” that reside in the United States. The impact to American born children, American spouses and American extended families are seldom discussed. The American political, economic, and social structures that allow and even support criminal behavior is also never questioned or discussed. As such current immigration policies remain in place. Giroux (2013), while calling for structural reforms, notes that “governing through-crime model produces a highly authoritarian and mechanistic approach to addressing social problems that often focuses on low-income and poor minorities, promotes highly repressive politics, and places undue emphasis on personal security rater than considering the larger complex of social and structural forces that fuels violence in the first place” (p.73)
It is imperative that current immigration policies be reformed. Such reforms must be driven by current data and research. It is particularly important to look at the impact on legal permanent residents given its implications to youth and in particular young American citizens. A critical portion of immigration policies is the retroactivity of the law. Given that Immigration Customs and Enforcement has no limitations on time and crime, the potential for Citizen children to become involved may be greater. The need for immigration reform is undisputable. The risks of current deportation policies outweigh the benefits.

**At the Community Level: Developing Responsive Structures.** Schools must design structures within their walls that sustain and support students who are undocumented and/or whose parents are immigrants. Participants in this study felt disconnected from school, experienced anxiety and suggested negative implications in academic work and in sustaining positive relationships. Furthermore, participants in this study stated not feeling supported by the school personnel. In order to be responsive teachers and school personnel must be in tune with the population they serve. Designing and developing activities within the school walls that are intended to connect the students and provide safe spaces for developing a network of support are extremely important in securing positive experiences.

School District policies must also respond to issues of immigration in communities that are immigrant and highly diverse. For undocumented students, these structures should focus around access to legal information and advocacy. Schools must develop close, trusting relationships with families, youth and community at large. Watson (2012) in her ethnographic community based schooling study shows positive results. Watson (2012) suggests that bringing community members into school grounds to provide knowledge of community life ultimately connects the students to school.
Hiring a number of personnel that belong to the cultural groups found within the community and that can represent the community within the school seems to have positive results for all involved. Families must be offered direct access to this type of personnel if a relationship of trust is to exist between the community and the school. This effort represents a conscious, deliberate effort by the school to access the families and to be available to the families. School personnel must be aware of the matter of immigration policies, deportation and deportability just as much as they seek to be aware of homelessness. The awareness must serve to develop structures within the school walls that support students emotionally but also that allow for students to acquire a voice. Work aimed at assisting students with writing letters to key political figures, researching information about deportation and immigration, and engaging in political projects that respond to their experiences are important. Curricular content and instructional methodology must be infused with deliberate information and action aimed at developing students voice and social awareness. All aspect of the curriculum must be penetrated

Access to guidance counselors to discuss issues of immigration, which without guidance may increase stress and impact performance, may be crucial for some students. Intense work at assisting students at developing coping strategies around issues of immigration should be a primary concern in schools densely populated with students and immigrant parents. In developing such response it is also important for the guidance counselor to have access to a cohort of professionals for support and information.

**Community Mapping**

The dynamics of each particular context is different and as such, the issues and opportunities available for service provision for each school district or school community is also different. It is essential that schools know the community, neighborhoods, and families well
enough to understand what the problems are and to consider what works and does not work. Any response that aims at being prescriptive is at best limited and may work counter intent. Understanding the dynamics of each community requires that schools engage in community mapping. This exercise must be undertaken in collaboration with the community, thus involving community organizations, agencies, business leaders, and community leaders. Understanding community dynamics must be a deliberate and explicit exercise with the purposeful objective of better understanding the community. Engaging the community will allow school administrators to see and understand aspects of the community that they would otherwise have no or limited exposure. In doing community mapping it is important to first identify a critical cohort of school personnel that is interested in researching community dynamics, understanding the community, disseminating information within the school walls, and finally organizing the possibilities for solution at the collaborative as well as at the individual case level. The composition of this cohort of scholars should be diverse in terms of background and function held in school. This diversity will allow for more in depth rich conversations as well as the potential development of response plans that will include every aspect of student life. The cohort must conduct regular meetings, research questions posed by the school staff, and make presentations to the staff regarding their findings. Regular continuous conversations are essential to better understand the community they serve. Getting to know the political structure within the community is also crucial in the development of any plan. This work must be informed by a strategic entry into the community as well as the development of a culture of negotiation between school personnel, students, families, organizations and community officials. Schools that serve communities with high number of immigrants, and with public officials that are sensitive to immigrants, will have more opportunities to push the boundaries and harness community support in terms of response
to immigrant issues. One such example is the imposition of secure communities by the Department of Homeland Security in Brockton in May of 2012. This program allows data inputted by local law enforcement to be digitally transmitted to Department of Homeland security, thus increasing apprehensions and deportations of undocumented and legal permanent residents that are in violation of the law. The governor of Massachusetts was in opposition to such program. The secure communities program has a direct impact in schools because it increases apprehensions and deportations of parents and ultimately prevents people from requesting assistance from law enforcement in fear of being apprehended by immigration service. However lack of knowledge by the school officials and school district facilitated the imposition of such program with little push back. I have met several Cape Verdean social workers in the community of Brockton that openly disclose that they advise mothers not to call law enforcement in case of domestic violence because of the implication of referrals to immigration service subsequent to law enforcement involvement. These social workers have devised creative ways to address the issue of domestic violence in some immigrant families in an effort not to trigger law enforcement. Immigration services’ involvement may also be triggered by school officials, in cases that require a report to the state of a suspected child abuse case, particularly if police become involved. It may be that in certain cases, involvement of law enforcement is unavoidable. However knowledge of the possible repercussions by school personnel may result in more effective responses prior to the event and an appropriate plan subsequent to the event of police involvement.

**Tackling Ideologies**

School personnel that serve school districts with large numbers of immigrant families are aware that fear of deportation and being in a state of deportability can be devastating for families
and children of immigrants. These fears impact the way schools serve undocumented and immigrant students. A research study by Jefferies (2014) concluded that threat of deportation prevented administrators from collecting information from students that could assist with service provision, given fears that law enforcement may access such information and use it against the students. Administrators were aware of the immigration status and the fears of students because the students included in the study were undocumented. In the case of American born children living in mixed status homes, administrators most often are unaware of the threat of parental deportability. Jefferies (2014) noted that administrators and teachers resisted talking openly about the issue of undocumented students. School administrators, participants in the study expressed reservations about addressing this issue with their personnel. However schools that serve immigrant communities and highly diverse population must deliberately, and explicitly design services and programs that are aimed at building trusting relationships within school personnel, between student and school personnel, student and student, and school personnel and families. These efforts must take shape and be visible from the front door office of the school to the most distant corner of the school.

A plan that attempts to develop services for immigrant students and students that live in a mixed status home can only be productive if dominant ideologies of school personnel are tackled. The provision of professional development around the issue of immigration was also difficult given the “volatile political atmosphere surrounding undocumented migration and the delicateness of the issue” (Jefferies, 2014, P. 288). Jefferies’s (2014) study suggests that administrators and teachers have great difficulties dealing with issues that may be ideologically grounded. This requires in-service work for teachers and administrators aimed at analysis and reflection around dominant ideologies. This work must also be done at the pre-service level in
order to grant teachers and administrators the opportunity to fully prepare for the work in communities that are highly diverse. Bartholomé (2008) suggests that teacher preparation programs are not addressing ideological and political dimensions of educating subordinated students.” As a result “the hegemonic ideologies that inform our perceptions and the treatment of subordinated groups” (p. x) goes unchecked. Without an analysis and continuous reflective activities about how our actions further subordinate and victimize those that have different experiences from the dominant group, we are unable to develop appropriate responses with realistic alternatives. Without this we are also unable to understand how certain programs and or policies impact the community and ultimately impact our work.

Schools must design structures within the school walls that sustain and support students who are undocumented and/or whose parents are immigrants, potentially live in a mixed home status and or impacted particularly in communities densely populated by immigrant families. For undocumented students, these structures should focus around access to legal information and advocacy. For students that are American born and live in mixed home status, the support must come after the fact. Schools must develop close trusting relationships with families. This requires hiring a number of personnel that belong to the cultural groups found within the community and that can represent the community within the school. Families must be offered direct access to this type of personnel if a relationship of trust is to exist between the community and the school. This effort represents a conscious, deliberate effort by the school district to access the families and to be available to the families. School personnel must be aware of the matter of deportation just as much as they seek to be aware of homelessness. The awareness must serve to develop structures within the school walls that supporting students emotionally but also that allow for students’ to acquire a voice. Work aimed at assisting students at writing letters to key political figures,
researching information about deportation and immigration, and engaging in political projects that respond to their experiences are important. Access to guidance counselors to discuss issues of immigration, which without guidance may increase stress and impact performance may be crucial for some students. Intense work at assisting students at developing coping strategies around issues of immigration should be a primary concern in schools densely populated with immigrant students and parents. In developing such response it is also important for the guidance counselor to have access to a cohort of professionals for support and information.

Academic Work

Much more must be done to improve school and community partnerships. Academic work must be aimed at improving quality of community life, increasing social awareness, and increasing youth’s opportunity at success, while informing policies. It is crucial that research on the topic of deportation and in particular impact of deportation on children be conducted. These studies should be community specific. It is undeniable that deportation is impactful regardless of the ethnic group. However the meaning and dynamics of deportation may differ according to community. For smaller countries such as Cape Verde, being deported may carry implications for the family for generations. We must also consider geographically location. For the Cape Verdean population, a country with no borders with United States or any other country, being that Cape Verde is an island on the west coast of Africa, the feeling of isolation and finality may be more pronounce in case of deportation. Qualitative studies have the potential of informing future quantitative work.

This study was exploratory in nature and included a small number of participants as such it is limited. Longitudinal studies, and studies with a larger number of participants are crucial in identifying issues and determining solutions. Nonprofit organizations such as MIRA, and the
Policy Center for Immigrants work to inform and develop social awareness on the topic of immigrants. However its projection has been limited. This type of work should also be undertaken by governmental agencies that are independent from Homeland Security. It is important to uncover the full impact of deportation including the repercussions on the work of social, health agencies and school districts.

**The Researcher and the Research Process**

As a Cape Verdean who had been highly involved in the process of deportation through the Consulate of the Republic of Cape Verde I did not expect to have challenges in recruiting participants. I spent many afternoons on the phone and in my office meeting with relatives whose desperation completely filled my office. Between tears, and pleas for mercy, they offered everything they had in exchange for clemency for the person being deported. Often they went through countless hours of vignettes attesting to how good their sons, brothers, fathers, mothers were and how deporting them was the most absolute act of injustice. When I was completely exhausted from hearing the stories, I hid in my office and told the secretary to ask them to come the following week. Prior to the date I was sure to receive a letter with yet another string of stories and pleas. I became anxious around the time of the arrival of the postman. The largest pile of letters always landed at my desk. Letters with children’s drawings, family pictures of barbecues and birthday parties, recommendations for mercy from employers, letters from doctors attesting to the emotional and psychological damage to sons, daughters, mothers and fathers. Every Tuesday for three months without fail I received the visit of a father. Shaking, sustained by a cane, visibly frail and continuously apologizing for coming to my office yet once more, he would sit in the Consulate’s waiting room and wait for me to call him in. Through the window, I always searched for something to tell him. I knew that I had nothing of substance and often I
wondered why he came religiously every Tuesday when the Tuesday before he heard nothing. Towards the end of the three months I realized that he came just to make sure I would not forget his son. He came to make sure that if I ever signed the travel document I would not do it lightly. I never signed the document. After 180 days of incarceration, his son was released under supervision of ICE. I wondered about the toll that the 180 days had on him. After his son’s release and when he no longer came to the Consulate on Tuesdays, for many weeks I wondered if he was upset with me given the time, despite his son’s incarceration or release being totally out of my control. I received a note from him many months after the son’s release, expressing gratitude for my time and explaining that on Tuesday he counted on his “fill of hope” simply by seeing me sitting at my desk at the Consulate. I expected participants to line up. I wondered how long would it take for me to have the participants that met criteria. I counted on numerous volunteers. However, I quickly learned that in pain and suffering, hide fear. I also learned that the most important function of injustice when coupled with power and is to silence those that most desire to speak. Many relatives did in fact call upon learning about the study through the Consulate, but most called to apologize for their hesitation and or inability to participate given their fears.

In research, all plans are conditioned to the dynamics of space, time and context. Despite speaking to many people, it took many months to be able to find the youth participants that were willing to record their voice about the subject matter. Many spoke to me off the record for hours. I realize now that research that touches on human conditions that are imbedded in an unjust system and are guided by power offers its own challenges. Fear is controlling in of itself. It is also naïve to assume that once one overcomes the condition of fear, one is guided by clarity of mind.
Remaining hopeful in a socio-political environment which feels to be anti-immigrant is a struggle. I continue my work, guided by the words of Paulo Freire “it is imperative to maintain hope even when the harshness of reality may suggest the opposite” (Freire in Hooks, 2003).
References


Samora, Julian (1971), Los Mojados, the Wetback Story, Notre Dame, E.U., University of Notre Dame.


Appendix A
First Level Interview Sample Questions

Interview 1- History

1. Where you born in the United States?
   P: If CV, which Island? If USA, state and town?

2. Are you an American?
   P: When did you migrate/arrive in the United States?
   P: Have you ever been to CV?
   P: What do you know about CV?

3. Who came with you?
   P: who lives with you?

4. Tell me about your arrival?

5. What do you know about your parent’s arrival? Date?

6. Have you ever gone back/been to CapeVerde?

7. Do you speak Krioulo?

8. What are some things you know about CapeVerde (food/customs/language)

9. Does your family talk about Capeverde?

10. When did you start school?
    P: tell the school you attend.

11. Do you have friends?
    P: are they CV/CV descent?

12. Tell me about your school? Students/teachers/administrators?

13. Describe for me your day.

14. Who helps you with work/homework/school affairs?
Appendix B
Second Level Interview Sample Questions

Interview 1- Details

Restate information, from previous interview, about school....

1) Who helps you in school.... teacher/administrator/
   
P: tell me about him/her
   
P: (if no one) If you have a problem or feel sad, who help you?

2) Do you have CV/American friends?
   
P: do they know your family is from CV?
   
P: what do they say about that? How do you respond?
   
P: do you talk to them about the deportation of ....?

3) How did you feel when you first heard about...?

4) Who did you talk to about this...?

5) Did anyone at school knew what was happening to your family?

6) How did you feel...?

7) What do you think will happen? Would you go to CV with your parent?

8) Why do you think this happened..to you...to your family?

9) If you could met the person in charge...the person that could fix all this what would you ask for and what would you say?

10) Do you know other kids in the same or similar situation?
Appendix C
Third Level Interview Sample Questions

Interview 3- Reflexive

1) Given this situation, what are your feelings about...deportation?...being an American?....

2) Do you think about this situation when you are at school, or with your friends...?

3) Do you have any fears when you think about this?

4) If you had the power to do anything, what would you do about this?

5) Have you heard other people talk about this issue (deportation)? What have you heard?
   Did you say anything?

6) Have your friends, relatives said anything?

7) How are you doing in school?

8) In your opinion, have you been affected by this event? Why or why not?
   Probe: Explain how has this impacted you?

9) Who or what might be able to help?
Appendix D
Parent interview

1. Where was ______born?
   P: when did ___ came to the US?
   P: where there any particular features in her/his arrival and or adjusting to new
   life in the US that you recall?
   P: Has he/she ever been/ back to CV?

2. In your opinion how connected/knowledgeable is _____ about CV (culture/language/way
   of life?)

3. How does _____ do with school work/routine (homework)?
   P: has he/she always been successful/have difficulties?
   P: How were his/her experiences with school in previous years?

4. Does _____ have siblings?
   P: describe their relationship?

5. How/when did _____find out the deportation/potential deportation of-----?

6. Describe his/her reaction?

7. Do they enter into conversation about the deportation? What questions/comments he/she
   makes?

8. How to you understand he/she to deal with this information?
   P: what helps?
   P: how do you respond to him/her?

9. Does talk about his/her feelings, experiences, fears?

10. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me to help me better understand how
    your child is reacting/dealing with the deportation of a parent?
Appendix E
Community Leaders’ Interview

The community of Brockton and deportation of CapeVerdeans

1. How has Brockton, in your perception, been impacted by deportation?

2. In your opinion, what are the perceptions of CapeVerdean community leaders of Brockton about deportation and deportees?

3. Do you know any families in the community of Brockton that have a member deported or under deportation procedures?

4. What is your understanding of what happens to the children/ youth? Do you or have you been involved in any of these cases?

5. How has Brockton, the largest CapeVerdean community in Massachusetts been impacted by deportation?

6. What are the perceptions of CapeVerdean community leaders of Brockton about deportation and deportees?
Appendix F
Grand Tour Questions

A. Meaning of deportation and consequences of deportation

1. What is deportation?

2. Is deportation lifelong or time specific? Once deported, can a person ever return to the United States?

3. What are the reasons for a person to be deported?

B. Deportation in the United States

1. What are the statistics for deportation in the United States?

2. How many CapeVerdeans have been deported from United States?

3. How are they received in CapeVerde, post deportation?
Appendix G
Interview Grid

Field notes #: __________________________ Date: __________________________
Location: __________________________ Start Time: _____ Stop Time: __________
Occasion: __________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Concepts/themes/musing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Memoing:
Appendix H
Participant/Community Observation Reflective Sheet

Participant/Community Observation reflective Sheet
(to be used as narrative reminder)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>Clothing, age, gender, physical appearance membership in groups or in sub-populations of interest to the study, profession, social status, socioeconomic class, religion, or ethnicity. Posture/ particular gestures/ voices to communicate different emotions; behaviors indicative of feelings toward one another, their social rank, or their profession personal space suggest about their relationships Where people enter and exit; how long they stay; who they are (ethnicity, age, gender); whether they are alone or accompanied; number of people The characteristics of these individuals; what differentiates them from others; whether people consult them or they approach other people; whether they seem to be strangers or well known by others present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal behavior and interactions</td>
<td>Who speaks to whom and for how long; who initiates interaction; languages or dialects spoken; tone of voice Gender, age, ethnicity, and profession of speakers; dynamics of interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical behavior and gestures</td>
<td>What people do, who does what who interacts with whom, who is not interacting How people use their bodies and voices to communicate different emotions; what individuals’ behaviors indicate about their feelings toward one another, their social rank, or their profession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal space</td>
<td>How close people stand to one another What individuals’ preferences concerning personal space suggest about their relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human traffic</td>
<td>People who enter, leave, and spend time at the observation site Where people enter and exit; how long they stay; who they are (ethnicity, age, gender); whether they are alone or accompanied; number of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who stand out</td>
<td>Identification of people who receive a lot of attention from others The characteristics of these individuals; what differentiates them from others; whether people consult them or they approach other people; whether they seem to be strangers or well known by others present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H (continued)

Adapted from: Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector’s Field Guide Module 2, FAMILY HEALTH INTERNATIONAL

Narrative

Date:  
Time:    To:  
Place:

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